INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.
NOTE TO USERS

Page(s) missing in number only; text follows. Microfilmed as received.

ii

This reproduction is the best copy available.
The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America

by

Haskell H. Monroe, Jr.

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
Doctor of Philosophy

Houston, Texas
May, 1961

Approved: Frank E. Vandervort

W. S. Doud

RICE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
HOUSTON, TEXAS
NOTE TO USERS

Page(s) missing in number only; text follows. Microfilmed as received.

This reproduction is the best copy available.
Preface

The pages that follow are an investigation of the role of one group of Southerners in the most destructive of American wars. With few exceptions these Presbyterians manned the battlements with the other citizens of the Confederacy. Like the states in which they lived, they left the national governing body and formed a Southern unit; they learned to hate their former brethren "at the North"; they believed God favored the cause symbolized by the Stars and Bars; they saw nothing but righteousness in the Confederate cause; and when necessary they died for this cause. When the fate of the South seemed hopeful the Presbyterians in this new nation were joyous, but when this nation was no more, the believers faced a dilemma. For churchmen the outcome of the war was a double defeat, since it seemed that the Union, by preventing Confederate independence, also frustrated God's plan.

Presbyterians south of the Potomac fought with all their faith and energy. These Calvinists used every means at their command to defend their cause, but in the end all was lost: political independence, the "peculiar institution," and even confidence in the future. With the defeat of the Confederacy, the Presbyterians faced the problem of returning to their former church affiliation with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. This study traces these people who called their land "Our Beloved Southern Zion," from the anxious peace in 1860 into the valley of the shadow of defeat in 1865.

Many works have been written about the Civil War. Estimates of books on the war go as high as 35,000 volumes, and no one has been brave enough to calculate the number of unpublished items or pamphlets. While many of these books have contributed much to the knowledge of this war,
some areas have received less attention than they merit. One such topic is the interrelation of the war and religion. Since they had used scriptural arguments to attack and defend state rights, secession, and slavery in ante-bellum years, the churchmen defended their conduct during the war with the same arguments. Yet there is no adequate study of this facet of the war. There are, however, accounts of some of the denominations and their activities in the sixties: Benjamin J. Eliot, Catholics and the Civil War (Milwaukee, 1945); Joseph E. Cheshire, The Church in the Confederate States: A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States (New York, 1912); Charles W. Heathcote, The Lutheran Church and the Civil War (Cincinnati, 1912); Lewis G. Vander Velde, The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union, 1861-1865 (Cambridge, Mass., 1932). Of these studies only Vander Velde's book measures up to the modern demands of research and writing. Based on a wealth of material, his effort is dependable and thorough.

The work at hand is intended to supplement Vander Velde's account, since he did not attempt to deal with the Presbyterians outside the Federal Union during the war years. This is not a theological account, for the ferocity of a life and death struggle left no time to argue the finer points of religious orthodoxy. Instead, Presbyterians in the South concentrated their spiritual strength in support of their nation. They tried to fight a war while keeping the faith. This attempt led them to organize a new General Assembly, to serve as soldier and believer with the army, to ferret out the unfaithful, to preach the Gospel to white and black alike, and to defend Zion. Since these and related topics were uppermost in the minds of the people who made up the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, this study concerns the investigation
and description of how and why these normally conservative individuals maintained their Church through four years of shattering war and into the uncertainty of total defeat.

This account is designed to follow a chronological arrangement. Where this is not possible, certain topics such as the Negro and slavery and missions are discussed independently. But the Confederate Presbyterian did not react in succession to his problems. For him, nothing could wait its turn -- his war was like that.

No claim is made that Presbyterians were the motivating factors behind either secession or the war itself. But it does seem that these people had importance beyond their numbers. Representing some of the economic and social leaders in the South, Presbyterians listened to a highly educated ministry and wielded a strong influence among their neighbors. If they did have a significant role in the life of the Confederacy, they made their greatest contributions in backing the formation of the C. S. A., in a sometimes vain effort to expand the Lord's Kingdom during a conflict that often was ungodly, and in the vigor of their efforts among the soldiers and slaves.

Materials for this study were located in a four year search that began in Charleston and extended from Austin to Philadelphia, from Savannah to Oklahoma City. Since the sources were voluminous, often dishearteningly so, the bibliography includes only those works which are cited in the notes. Many other works might have been included, but the list would be unnecessarily long. This writing is based primarily on manuscript presbytery records, Confederate imprints, and weekly religious papers. All three were unusually valuable sources, for they reflected the contemporary attitudes of church leaders. Some of these attitudes
were false, but much of the war was based on misinformation in the first place.

To list each person who contributed to this research would require many pages. But mention must be made of the generous aid of Thomas H. Spence and the staff of the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat, North Carolina. A glance at the bibliography will indicate how much of this research is based on records in their depository.

Each of the library staffs represented in the bibliography was kind and considerate. I am greatly indebted to all of them — all except one, which charged me for the privilege of looking at a listing of their holdings and then had nothing of use.

I cannot adequately describe the debt of gratitude I owe the director of this research. His kindness and consideration has been far above and beyond the call of an advisor's duties, for he has given freely of his time and his advice.

It is entirely correct to state that this study could not have been completed without the aid of my wife, who aided in every way possible and patiently endured four years of Confederate Presbyterians.

To dedicate this work to her would be a grossly inadequate recognition of her assistance.

May 1961
College Station, Texas

Haskell H. Monroe, Jr.
Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Abbreviations</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. &quot;Patriots and Christians, To the Rescue.&quot;</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. &quot;For our enemies, resistance...&quot;</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. &quot;The Battle is the Lord's.&quot;</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. &quot;The Rubicon is crossed.&quot;</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. &quot;Our cause... is God's.&quot;</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. &quot;Let us build her towers...&quot;</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. &quot;Under God, we shall not fail.&quot;</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. &quot;It is righteousness that exalteth.&quot;</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. &quot;The ways of Zion do mourn.&quot;</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. Slavery</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. Indian and Foreign Missions</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII. The Devil in Blue</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV. &quot;Peace to the troubled waters.&quot;</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apencies</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACHS</td>
<td>American Church History Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CF</td>
<td>Children's Friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO</td>
<td>Christian Observer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C of O</td>
<td>Chronicles of Oklahoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Central Presbyterian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DWT</td>
<td>Due West Telescope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHHQ</td>
<td>Georgia Historical Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JHUS</td>
<td>Johns Hopkins University Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JMH</td>
<td>Journal of Mississippi History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPHS</td>
<td>Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSK</td>
<td>Journal of Southern History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KSAA</td>
<td>Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Confederate States of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MVR</td>
<td>Mississippi Valley Historical Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCCHR</td>
<td>North Carolina Historical Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPCP</td>
<td>North Carolina Presbyterian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASCH</td>
<td>Papers of the American Society of Church History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHSP</td>
<td>Southern Historical Society Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Southern Presbyterian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPR</td>
<td>Southern Presbyterian Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Soldier's Visitor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TW</td>
<td>True Witness, after September 5, 1860, listed as T.W., True Witness and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sentinel.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The South was religious. Most Southerners claimed to be Christians of one sort or another. Public worship and church membership were marks of social acceptability. Along with love of the soil, belief in state rights, and defense of slavery, worship of God was a part of the "Southern way of life." Since the pulpit offered opportunities for leadership matched only by political office, the clergy attracted many of the best minds of the generation. Like their parishioners, these ministers hoped to preserve the status quo -- the South as it was -- untouched by heretic, free-thinker, or abolitionist. While battling these agents of the Devil, Southern preachers fought each other so often that few interdenominational activities existed beyond the level of the union prayer meeting.¹

The most numerous denominations in the South were the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians. In social and economic prestige and power, the latter two groups exerted an influence far out of proportion to their numbers. Both were strong among the educated and economically favored, but the Presbyterians were more evenly distributed in both towns and rural communities from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. They had moved west with the frontier, but their stubborn insistence on college and seminary training for their ministers limited the number of Presbyterian preachers on the frontier. As a result the Methodist circuit rider or the Baptist revivalist was first on the scene, but the Presbyterian

¹ Charles Dwight Dorough, "Religion in the Old South: A Pattern of Behavior and Thought" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1944); John R. Alexander, Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years (Charlotte, 1908), 179.
usually built the first school. The great period of growth for the Calvinists came after the restless push of the Scotch-Irish into the foothills of the Appalachians and continued as they crossed the mountains and poured into the valleys of the Cumberland and the Tennessee. Although the Cumberland schism early in the century took the more evangelistic souls out of Presbyterian congregations, the strains of Calvinism remained relatively pure on the trek westward. By the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, the line of settlement was on the edge of the plains, where the pioneer paused before going into an arid land full of fiery sky and naked plain.

Rivalry for domination of the frontier produced increasingly bitter arguments between the sections. Presbyterians were members of the only important religious body with sizeable strength in both North and South. After the culmination of a denominational feud in 1837, two rival groups claimed to be the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. With the choice being the conservative Old School or the more liberal New School, (which had a decided background of Congregationalism), almost all Southern Presbyterians remained in the Old School. With a decade,

---


In 1814, the celebrated plan of Union provided for the formation of churches combining Presbyterians and Congregationalists, with the denominational affiliation being decided by the majority of the congregation. Since only a small number of such units were formed south of the Ohio River, they had little effect on the South.
the Baptists and Methodists had their own private schisms over slavery and sectional differences, leaving only the Old School Presbyterian Church and the Democratic Party, with national unity.

While political debates grew more heated, Presbyterian conservatism attracted praise in the South. There the Old School stood for Union and slavery, but gradually protection of the latter overcame affection for the former. More and more, Presbyterian ministers put their skills to work in support of the politicians.

Four groups of Presbyterians proclaimed the Gospel to the South: Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Old School), United Synod of the Presbyterian Church, Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of the South, and the Independent Presbyterian Church. 4 Each member of this quartet maintained strict loyalty to a few unique beliefs, although they agreed on most theological topics. In all of the congregations, the quarterly Communion observance was the significant religious experience. As the members arrived at the church, the gallant gentlemen assisted the ladies inside and then withdrew to discuss the current topics of politics and agriculture. The sound of the first hymn was the signal for the men to enter. Inside the usually plain and simple buildings, they normally sat on the left, opposite the women, while the slaves listened from the balcony. 5 The sermons they heard emphasized the moral life, the redemptive power of Jesus, and the omnipotence of God. These sermons, long in duration and strong in emphasis on God's

4 For a statistical summary of the various Presbyterian bodies in the South in 1860, see Appendix A.

5 Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, Reminiscences of Peace and War (New York, 1905), 140-150; Alexander, Reminiscences, 150-151.
power, had been singularly important in creating the belief in the Southern Zion — the South as one of God's chosen lands. In addition, the similarity of the sermons helped to demonstrate that all four groups had much in common. Each had strong leaders in the pulpit, placed great stress upon education, gave great attention to faith and doctrine, laid emphasis on mission work; each agreed on the righteousness of slavery, and shared a jaundiced view of the North.

The basis of all Presbyterian doctrine was the beloved Westminster Catechism, reinforced by the Form of Government, Order of Worship, and Book of Discipline. The preservation of this doctrine rested with the various judicial bodies of the church, in which ministers and elders had equal representation. In the local congregation, the session, made up of elders and deacons with the minister as moderator, decided all questions of faith and morals. The deacons supervised the material welfare of the congregation and the more revered elders guided the spiritual life. Matters worthy of a higher authority might pass to presbytery on the district level, synod on the regional or state level, and perhaps to the general assembly, the supreme organization in the denomination. Although the synods met in both spring and autumn and the general assembly convened in May after the synod's spring meeting, the presbyteries usually thrashed out the difficult matters and made the important decisions. The regular summary of the work of the presbytery, the narrative, recorded the success or failure of the church fathers for the year.

In spite of attachment to similar religious beliefs and a common system of church government, some differences still separated the various Presbyterian sects. The passing of decades had, however, helped to heal
old wounds and produced some sentiment for reunion. The Independent Presbyterian Church was closest to merger with the Old School. This group of thirteen congregations located in upper South Carolina and western North Carolina had broken away in 1810 when W. C. Davis and his followers protested against what they considered dangerous liberalism in the Assembly. Fifty years later, the membership was near one thousand, a total which was largely the result of the tireless labors of R. Y. Russel, who ministered to five congregations. Because of westward migration from the area and a lack of clergymen, Russel and his three ministerial colleagues were unable to develop a large following. After the Old School lost the more literal New School, the Independents became more interested in rejoining their conservative friends. Although a merger with Bethel Presbytery of the Synod of South Carolina failed in 1857, optimists predicted a future union.

Somewhat larger than the Independent Presbytery, the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of the South reflected a direct Scotch influence on American Presbyterianism. This group, often labelled the A. R. P., broke with its Northern counterpart in 1721 over slavery, but made few statements on the subject after that time. Instead, A. R. P. leaders in the South concerned themselves with the preservation of the

---


7 "Resolves of Bullock's Creek Independent Presbyterian Church," VSS, R. Y. Russel Papers.
unique features of their faith; closed communion, which excluded all outsiders from their celebrations of the Lord's Supper, and the use of the Psalms as the only source for congregational singing and responsive reading. These had been traditional beliefs and continued use of an outdated version of the Psalms produced both amusement and frustration in the Old School. Only these two points of difference marred the common conservatism and mutual dislike of the New School shared by the Old School and the A. R. P. Synod of the South.\(^8\)

As in the Independent Presbytery, most Associate Reformed members lived in Upper South Carolina, but many others were scattered among nine presbyteries from Virginia to Arkansas and thus lacked geographical unity. The dreams of strengthening this unity and adding new recruits to the sixty ministers of the A. R. P. Synod centered in the Theological Seminary in Due West, South Carolina, home of Erskine College, and the Due West Telescope, a weekly paper which served the entire Synod. For ten years, this sheet had mirrored the sect's great effort in home missions, and frequent discussions of cooperation and merger with the Old School.\(^9\) Strong adherents spoke on both sides of the merger issue, but John S. Pressly, the most powerful minister in the Synod and patriarch

---


\(^9\) "Minutes of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South, 1860-1874," 45-46 (September 16, 1861), MS3, Montreat; CP, January 21, 1860; Henry S. Stroupe, *The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States*, 1822-1865 (Durham, 1956), 73-74. (Unless otherwise noted, all unpublished presbytery and synod minutes cited are in the Historical Foundation at Montreat.)
of a family which had produced a score of clergymen, always led the opposition.

Compared to the two smaller units, the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church was a denominational youth, produced by slavery arguments in the New School Assembly. For twenty years after the schism of 1837, the New School, (with only one-eighth of its membership in the Slave States), came ever closer to a condemnation of the "peculiar institution." Finally, in 1857, the Southerners walked out in anger and gathered in Richmond. After considering union with the Old School, they decided to form a separate organization and adjourned to meet in Knoxville, Tennessee. There, in April 1859, at the Second Presbyterian Church, the United Synod proclaimed its separate existence. Within two years, membership was near 12,000, concentrated in the area of the southern Appalachians. In the more than one hundred ministers in fourteen presbyteries and three synods, the best known spokesmen were A. H. H. Boyd and Joseph Clay Stiles. 10 Boyd, minister to the Loudoun Street congregation in Winchester, Virginia since 1842, had earned a reputation for loud criticism of the Old School, explosive writing, and theological inquiry. Meanwhile, the more moderate Stiles was known for his stirring pulpit technique. 11

A theological seminary was a necessity for the United Synod if its beliefs were to be maintained. With Boyd heading the Board of Directors

10 CC, November 29, 1860; Thomas C. Johnson, "A Brief Sketch of the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," PASCH, VIII(1897), 11-19. The United Synod claimed the District of Columbia as its fifteenth presbytery, but this body apparently formally never joined the Synod.

and leading a campaign to raise $100,000, the school was to open in 1860, and by the spring of that year, two-thirds of the funds had been pledged. The Directors chose Charlottesville, Virginia as a site for the seminary because of the apparent advantages of proximity to the University of Virginia. In the meantime, the United Synod had to depend largely upon Maryville College in East Tennessee for its educational leadership. Handicapped by old buildings in need of repair, Maryville's dreams gave more encouragement than its immediate condition.  

The *Christian Observer*, a religious paper of unusual quality, served as a sort of coordinator of the United Synod's activities. Although published in Philadelphia and circulated among many Presbyterian groups, the Observer revealed a definite affinity for the United Synod. Editor Amasa Converse, whose earlier experience with religious journalism in Richmond gave him Southern leanings, valiantly tried to overcome the United Synod's weaknesses -- small congregations, scattered membership, and lack of wealth -- by presenting optimistic and coordinated views of the accomplishments of the faithful.

The Old School dominated all of the smaller Presbyterian bodies in the South. It had the overpowering attributes of numbers, educational facilities, publicly renowned leaders, newspapers and periodicals, a long missionary experience, and the immeasurable advantage of historical continuity. In true Presbyterian tradition, education played a major role in developing this leadership. The two divinity schools, Union Theological Seminary, located in Prince Edward County, Virginia, and the

---

12 *CO*, January 19, March 30, 1860; *PP*, July 7, 1860; Stiles, *Life of Boyd*; Johnson, "Sketch of United Synod," *PASCH*, VIII(1897), 25; Lewis, "Presbyterianism in the Tennessee Valley," 70–81. For a list of schools supported by the United Synod, see Appendix E.
Theological Seminary of the Synods of Georgia and South Carolina, situated in Columbia, South Carolina, were particularly important. Union, the older of the two, opened in 1824 and was controlled by the Synods of Virginia and North Carolina. Thirty-six students were studying under the direction of a faculty of four on a shady campus, located six miles outside Farmville. Robert Lewis Dabney, an outspoken conservative, was the most famous member of the faculty. In addition to the faculty and a location in "about the sweetest spot in all the land for a student," the seminary had the material assets of an endowment of more than $100,000, a library of 5,000 volumes, and professor's houses and buildings. 13

Columbia Seminary was four years younger than its Virginia counterpart, but made rapid strides in the decade after 1850. The dominant voice of the Seminary and of all Presbyterianism in the South was James Henley Thornwell, a small and frail theologian whose valiant defense of Southern rights and principles led his neighbors to compare him with John C. Calhoun. In all the General Assembly no one surpassed him in fame and depth of reasoning. In addition, the faculty included George Howe and A. W. Leland, each possessing almost three decades of experience as teachers, and John B. Adger, a skilled linguist and church historian. The seminary boasted a library of almost 12,000 volumes, said to be equal to any seminary collection in the nation. Due to the reputation of the faculty and the library, a record enrollment of fifty-eight scholars came

---

to the red brick buildings of the seminary in the autumn of 1859 to pursue the detailed course of study.\footnote{14} Officials of the school hoped the recent creation of the Perkins Professorship of Natural Science in Connection with Revelation would not only add to the breadth of the training of young ministers, but would also enable them to combat evolutionism.

The task of training the men for the seminaries rested with the church-related colleges scattered across the presbyteries and synods. Hardly a presbytery was without a school of some sort within its bounds. Although many were not of college level, some were among the best Southern educational institutions. Hampden-Sydney College, located on the same grounds as Union Seminary, was one year older than the nation, but was without a sizeable endowment or adequate library. Still, in 1860, the enrollment had increased. A total of 135 men listened to the inspiring lectures of President J. M. P. Atkinson in "Moral Philosophy and Political Economy," sought admission to the Philanthropic Society, and quietly studied amid the deep religious atmosphere of the campus. The proximity of the Seminary led to frequent revivals and in the spring of 1860, at least twenty men were converted.\footnote{15}

Davidson College was the North Carolina rival of Hampden-Sydney. Located twenty miles north of Charlotte, it suffered from inaccessibility,
but the impending completion of the Atlantic, Tennessee and Ohio Railroad
would solve that problem. Then, 'in the words of a booster of the College,
a visitor might be "whirled" in an hour to "this green and quiet spot,"
where the new Chambers Building could be seen for miles. Said to be the
largest college structure in the state, this hall contained both class-
rooms and dormitory quarters for the student body.

Davidson was more financially secure than other schools in the
South under Presbyterian leadership. The greatest contemporary problem
was replacing the recently-resigned president, Drury Lacy. Also, a
limited library, sometimes described as "sadly meagre," gave cause for
concern. This situation caused the two literary societies, the Philo-
mathean and the Eumanian, to offer use of their collections which totaled
4,000 volumes. Friends of the school managed to overlook its weaknesses
when they described Davidson's achievements. Instead, they told of the
talent of the faculty, the religious fervor on the campus, the high
standards of discipline and scholarship among the students, and the
unmatched opportunity for studying in the "midst of a frugal, prosperous,
and comparatively virtuous people -- of Scotch-Irish descent."16

Oglethorpe University, located two miles east of Milledgeville,
Georgia, welcomed its first students in 1833, one year after Davidson
opened. Since that time, the University had survived a number of
perilous days before gaining stability under the diligent leadership of

16 Cornelia P. Shaw, Davidson College, Intimate Facts (New York, 1923),
91-92, 120; "Davidson College Faculty Minutes, 1842-1873," 203 (July 4,
1860); transcript, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C.; SP, March 17,
1860; Rev. George S. Harris (Cuthriessville, S. C.) to Rev. A. A. Porter,
July 13, 1861, MSS, Letters received by Rev. A. A. Porter, editor of the
Southern Presbyterian, Montreat, TX, September 1, 1860; SP, January 12,
March 17, 1860, February 15, 1862; KCP, April 21, June 28, September 29,
November 10, 1860.
Samuel K. Talmadge, who accepted the presidency in 1941. The campus over which he presided was situated on top of a wooded hill, crowned by a chapel with faculty homes and student cottages lined around it. In spite of the usual problems of inadequate library, failure of payment on promised donations for salaries, and frequent faculty resignations, Oglethorpe survived and claimed to have made progress. To justify such claims, backers of the University proudly noted the Thalian Literary Society, Dr. James Woodrow, (a brilliant scholar who held the Ph. D. degree from Heidelberg), and the contribution of Oglethorpe graduates to the Presbyterian Church. 17

In Tennessee, the Old School supported two important institutions, the older being Stewart College, in Clarksville, northwest of Nashville. The Synod of Nashville took control of the College in 1855 and by 1860 Stewart had all of the necessary academic ingredients: an impressive main building, (described as "castellated" in style), an able president, endowment and property worth about $100,000, and a faculty of four men. In order to demonstrate its stability, the College offered free tuition for ministerial candidates, described a revival among its 125 students in the spring of 1860, praised President E. E. McMullen's leadership, and handed out three honorary degrees. As for the future, the school's advertisements proclaimed: "The success of the College, thus far, has been very flattering, and its prospects for the future are quite encouraging."18

17 SC, March 3, July 28, 1860, February 9, 1861; James Stacy, A History of the Presbyterian Church in Georgia (Elberton, Ga., 1912), 145-453; Anne Lide, "Five Georgia Colleges from 1850 to 1875" (unpublished M. A. thesis, Emory University, 1957); Allen P. Tankersley, College Life at Old Oglethorpe (Athens, 1951).

18 SC, March 31, 1860; SC, February 15, 1862; Walter E. Cooper, Southwestern at Memphis, 1848-1948 (Richmond, 1949), 11-26; TW, March 17, July 7, 1860.
LaGrange College, located about forty miles east of Memphis, was, like Stewart College, founded with the aid of the Masonic order. By the time this College closed its third session in the spring of 1860, it acquired a large two story brick building "on a beautiful eminence," and a faculty of five. Two men stood out in this group: John Gray, the first president, and his successor, John W. Waddel. Both were native South Carolinians with wide reputations for ability and scholarship. The controlling Synod of Memphis was proud of the enrollment of more than 120 men, the reputation of the Phi-Mu and Eunomian societies, and the endowment of $100,000. Since only $60,000 of the endowment was available for investment, the Synod began a drive to double the endowment and provide necessary operating expenses, as well as the salary for an additional professor. For President Waddel, the primary strengths of the College were the students and faculty, and he believed that he "never saw in any college, a better set of students. No other kind will feel at home at this institution with its present Faculty. They know what good students are, and what to do with bad ones." 19

LaGrange's rival for the patronage of the Mississippi Valley was Oakland College, located in the shade of the forest near Natchez. Oakland's large, secluded campus, plus a highly reputable community, a veteran faculty, and a record of three decades of experience, had attracted 120 students to college and preparatory classes, as well as an endowment of almost $100,000. Although the College suffered under local criticism for alleged Unionism during the sectional crisis of 1850, the recent election of W.

L. Breckirridge to the presidency brought much acclaim to Oakland. His many honors, which included being immediate past moderator of the Old School Assembly, and his relations in the prominent Kentucky family assured the College of strong leadership. With such a man at the helm and a drive underway for additional endowment, Oakland claimed to be "second to none in all the great South-West."20

The only Presbyterian institution on the academic frontier west of Oakland was Austin College. This Texas school, founded in 1849 at Huntsville by the great missionary, Daniel Baker, had endured the most precarious life of any of the major Presbyterian colleges in the South. Baker had conceived of the College as a source of ministers for the western territories, but financial difficulties had prevented realization of this dream. In spite of the financial woes, there was a more than adequate faculty, a library of 3,000 volumes, and a "philosophical apparatus" of local reputation. The recent donation of a minister's collection of 1,700 volumes and a gift of 5,000 acres of Texas timberland also delighted Austin's supporters.

Like most nineteenth century college presidents, Rufus Bailey had many duties and only the most limited assistance in his efforts. After leaving his native New England, primarily because of his sympathy for slavery, Bailey outlined a bright future for Austin College at his inauguration in 1859. Soon, more Texans were arriving to study the classically-oriented curriculum and many observers had words of praise for

20 TH, January 7, 1860; John R. Hutchinson, Reminiscences, Sketches and Addresses selected from My Papers during a Ministry of Forty-Five Years in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas (Houston, 1874), 25, 35, May 16, 1860; Wilson (ed.), Presbyterian Almanac for 1861, 343; TH, March 31, May 19, 1860.
such immediate improvements and for so bright a future.\textsuperscript{21}

In addition to the better known colleges and seminaries, Presbyterians supported many other schools of varying quality. Despite their impressive titles, most of these institutions were really high schools and academies with only local reputations. Few had more than the bare essentials of faculty, facilities, and financial resources. With ministers heading these institutions and church bodies selecting the governing boards, the primary function was to provide candidates for the ministry, but Presbyterians had also been among the pioneers in educating young women. Despite their limitations and handicaps, Presbyterian schools furnished educational leadership in most of the South.\textsuperscript{22}

Years of education and a respect for scholarship had produced a highly literate clergy. Presbyterian divines had become practiced in theological debate, and with proverbial Scotch tenacity, always defended "blue- stocking" strictness. Their basic belief was the daily use of the Shorter Catechism in the family.\textsuperscript{23} They insisted on infant baptism by

\textsuperscript{21} William Baker, The Life of Daniel Baker (Philadelphia, 1858), 412; Dan Ferguson, "Austin College in Huntsville," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LII (1948-1950), 336-390; "Minutes of the Austin College Board of Trustees, 1850-1912," 138-141 (June 28, 1861), "SS, Austin College, Sherman, Texas; Addresses at the Inauguration of Rev. Rufus Bailey, A.M., as President of Austin College, Huntsville, Texas, February 13, 1852" (Houston, 1852); Austin Texas State Gazette, January 12, 1861.

\textsuperscript{22} Albea Godbold, The Church College of the Old South (Durham, 1944), 7-16, 56-77; DesChamps, "Presbyterian Church in the South Atlantic States," 67-93; Lide, "Five Georgia Colleges," 1-5. Apparently at least thirty-five educational institutions, including these seminaries, were under some sort of control of Presbyterians in the South. For a listing of these schools, see Appendix E.

\textsuperscript{23} Alexander, Reminiscences, 294; SB, October 19, 1960; DesChamps, "Presbyterian Church in the South Atlantic States," 77-85.
sprinkling and vigorously opposed all Baptist views to the contrary. 24
No outsider could question Presbyterian doctrine and withdraw unchal-
 lenged. But within the church, there were frequent arguments over such
matters as congregational singing, the use of musical instruments in the
sanctuary, local control over missionaries, and the best means of fight-
ing sin. 25 Even the ministers were not exempt from sharp criticism.
Often the laity dared to point out such weaknesses as the clerical
hunger for an honorary degree or the tendency of pastors to recite a
monotonous sermon from manuscript. 26

Strong leaders emerged among the ministers. Most of them gained
their reputations because of their abilities in the pulpit, but others
were known as brilliant teachers as well. Among the latter were such
scholars as Dabney, Waddel, and especially Thornwell. Southerners con-
sidered Benjamin Morgan Palmer the unexcelled orator in the church. This
short, square-jawed man impressed few with his appearance, but when he
began to speak, "he seemed to grow taller... His voice was a marvel

24 "Minutes of the Presbytery of Red River, 1854-1862," 192 (September
20, 1862); "Records of the Synod of Missouri, 1856-1866," 291 (October
11, 1860); TW, February 4-25, September 15, 1860; John P. Adger, "The
Divine Right of Presbyterian Church Government: A Review of Miller's
Ancient Church," SPR, XIII (1860-1861), 122-159. (Hereinafter all
references to MSS synod and presbytery minutes after the first list-
ing will be by the geographical name of the body: "Red River Presbytery,
1854-1862").

25 "Records of the Presbytery of Holston, 1857-1865, 12-17, 50, 100
(August 17, 1861); Alexander, Reminiscences, 106-107; CP, March 17, 1860;
George A. Blackburn (ed.), The Life Work of John L. Girardeau, D. D.,
LL. D. (Columbia, S. C., 1916), 69; TW, April 14, 1860; NCP, April 28,
1860; J. C. Lindsay, "The Eldership. A Sermon preached by appointment
before the Presbytery of South Carolina, September, 1859," SPR, XIII
(1860-1861), 625-626.

26 E. A. Nisbet, "Presbyterian Preaching at the South," SPR, XIII
(1860-1861), 102-122; NCP, May 5, 1860; TW, July 28, August 13, 1860;
CC, October 25, 1860; By a Southern Pastor, "Pulpit Oratory," SPR, XIV
(1861-1862), 275-296.
of flexibility and adaptability." His long, forceful sermons had made him a celebrity and attracted numerous calls to other pastorates; still he remained in New Orleans, a powerful figure in any matter of public interest.\(^{27}\)

In Virginia, Dabney preached with the same fervor as Palmer, but in a more philosophical vein. For sheer inspiration, Presbyterians in the Old Dominion went to hear Moses Drury Hoge at the Second Church in Richmond. Since taking this pastorate in 1845, he had attracted a large and influential congregation. Offers of other pastorates and even the presidency of both Davidson and Harvard-Sydney Colleges could not lure him away from his beloved Richmond, where he became noted for his closely trimmed mustache, stiff, erect stance, and stirring sermons. "His preaching satisfied both the intellect and the heart, however, enlarged they might be." "When he read a hymn, he made it a sermon, a prayer and a vehicle of praise."\(^{28}\)

Virginia and South Carolina claimed to produce most of the church luminaries in the South. The incomparable Thornwell headed the list of Carolinians, but the state also boasted such men as Thomas Smyth and John L. Girardeau, plus Thornwell's distinguished colleagues at Columbia Seminary. Smyth, a tiny man, maimed by a paralytic stroke in 1853, had

---


accumulated the large library which was the pride of the Seminary. During his tenure of almost three decades at Charleston's Second Church, he earned a reputation as an able doctrinal scholar. No Southern Presbyterian surpassed him in the quantity of printed works and few equalled the volume of his personal correspondence with ministerial colleagues. A few blocks from Smyth's book-lined study, Girardeau preached regularly to the Zion Presbyterian congregation, one of the largest in the South, made up almost entirely of Negroes. In only four years at this pastorate, his eloquence and energy had worked wonders. The Sunday morning audience regularly exceeded one thousand and Charlestonians pointed to Girardeau's success as a triumph for slavery.29

In nearby Augusta, Joseph R. Wilson attracted large crowds to his church. A big, amiable man with an almost devilish sense of humor, he was a model minister with many talents and varied interests. Born in Ohio and also educated in the North, Wilson became fiercely Southern in sentiment. When he spoke from the pulpit, he thrilled his audience who believed, "his discourse seems to be but the overflow of the depths of his mind and heart, and leaves... the grateful impression that the fountain of his resource seems full to the brim."30

Few men had risen to prominence within the church in the states west of the mountains. The area was still young and the congregations were not yet as strong as those in the East. Most of the outstanding


pastors in the West had emigrated to the area — men such as Palmer, Waddel, and Gray, all South Carolinians, or Bailey, a transplanted Yankee. One product of the frontier who did rival all of these men in ability and prestige was James A. Lyon, minister in Columbus, Mississippi. A man of "fearless convictions and broad educational views," Lyon had a reputation as an accomplished debater and pulpit orator who often voiced outspoken opinions on slavery and politics. 31

In a denomination which prided itself on the quality of its clergy, laymen never received the prominence which they sometimes merited. Although the laity was entitled to one-half of the representation in all church courts, few individuals served often enough to attract more than local attention to their efforts. Nevertheless, churchmen proudly noted that a number of men achieved fame as religious leaders in addition to their secular accomplishments. Such politicians as William L. Yancey, the loud champion of Southern nationalism, and Thomas R. R. Cobb, a highly-admired Georgia congressman, were known to be devoted laymen. D. H. Hill, head of the North Carolina Military Institute, and Thomas Jonathan Jackson, professor at Virginia Military Institute, both graduates of West Point and married to daughters of a former president of Davidson, were devoted practitioners of the faith and loyal deacons. 32 Such men were

31 Joseph F. Wilson, et al, Memorial Addresses Delivered Before the General Assembly of 1866 . . . (Richmond, 1886), 16-17, 20; Wilmuth S. Rutledge, "James Adair Lyon, Resolute Prophet" (unpublished M. S. thesis, Mississippi State College, 1956); Ella Gertrude (Clanton) Thomas Journals, III, 44 (December 13, 1861), MSS, Manuscripts Collections, Duke; "Obituaries of the Synod of Mississippi," 19-23, MSS, Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss.

32 First Presbyterian Church, Montgomery Alabama, 1824-1950 (Montgomery, 1959), 4; OP, December 18, 1862; NCE, August 23, 1860; Mary Anna Jackson, Memoirs of Stonewall Jackson (Louisville, 1895), 59-79; A. C. Avery, Memorial Address on Life and Character of Lieutenant General D. H. Hill, May 10, 1893 (Raleigh, 1893).
the exception. Most deacons and elders performed their duties without attracting much renown; yet, in the tedious and tiring presbytery meetings, their work was indispensable.

Ministers and laymen had great difficulty in their attempts to coordinate the varied and far-flung efforts of the church. Newspapers and periodicals afforded the principal means of constant contact with the communicants and therefore helped to tie Presbyterians together. All five weeklies which had the endorsement of Old School synods and presbyteries in the South, plus the *Christian Observer*, which went to many Old School members, were similar. A minister edited each of them and all of these men had to supplement their editorial incomes with regular preaching. Each paper reflected the increasing ardor of the sectional arguments, despite references to "the high-toned scriptural and conservative position of our press."33 News items of national religious events were included, but all of the Southern papers stated their sectional leanings and begged for subscriptions with the admonition to the reader to get the true Southern interpretation. Subscription lists were never long enough to eliminate financial worries and rivalry for cash customers often provoked vigorous debates between the editors. These debates were only temporary interruptions of professed admiration between the weeklies, for the papers usually praised the other Presbyterian sheets in the section -- as long as each remained within the geographical limits which had been tacitly agreed upon.

The columns were filled with church and secular news, stories, sermons, essays, poems, letters, obituaries, marriage notices, plus many items directed at women and children. Slavery always enjoyed careful treatment while other denominations, particularly the Baptists, received frequent condemnation. Among the Church's quintet of papers in the South, the youngest of the group, the **North Carolina Presbyterian**, published in Fayetteville, claimed its "list of subscribers was larger than that of any paper in North Carolina, or any Presbyterian paper south of Mason and Dixon's Line . . . ." In the two years since forty-eight guarantors -- disgusted with the belief that "North Carolina has always been behind the ages, and there was no earthly use in her trying to 'catch up'" -- contributed $4,800 to begin publication, subscriptions had increased from 1200 to 3,000 readers. Tar Heel victims of scorn from Virginia and South Carolina liked editor George McNeill's motto of "the Church first, the Union next, and North Carolina all the time," yet not enough people responded to his appeals for additional subscriptions to keep the paper from the threat of debt.34

Virginia Presbyterians considered their state the fountain of the faith for the South and therefore they read the **Central Presbyterian** from Richmond. A team of three ministers conducted the paper for "An association of gentlemen in Virginia and North Carolina," and from the first issue in January 1856, urged a strong but patient defense of Southern principles.35 Publication in Richmond enabled the **Central**

34 NCP, January 7-14, August 18, October 27, December 15, 1860, September 22, 1861; Stroupe, *Religious Press*, 93-95.

Presbyterian to include much news from the North and to circulate there. This fact forced the Central to be more considerate of Yankee opinions, but it also provided enough subscribers to allow the reader to enjoy the paper without constant requests for funds.

The Central Presbyterian often referred to its self-appointed role as mediator between sectional extremists in the church. It saw grave danger in the type of outspoken sectionalism expounded in the Southern Presbyterian. The latter, a thirteen year veteran of religious journalism, was the voice of the synods of the Southeast and seldom hesitated to shake a fist at abolitionists and Republicans. Published at Charleston, the paper contained more news of the South than any other Presbyterian sheet.36

Among all the newspapers read by southern Presbyterians, the True Witness was most unique. This publication spoke frankly on most issues, quarrelled with rival editors and attacked all Roman Catholics, but seldom bothered to criticize the Baptists. Perhaps due to economic ties with the Mississippi Valley, the Witness was uncommonly sympathetic with the Union and skeptical of secession. Editor Richmond McInnis founded the paper in Jackson, Mississippi in 1854, and then moved it to New Orleans three years later. By 1860, McInnis believed there was "evidence of established health" for his paper and prepared to extend his editorial influence.37

Whereas the weekly papers presented news to a limited geographical

36 John B. Adger, My Life and Times, 1810-1899 (Richmond, 1899), 228, 230, September 28, 1860, October 19, 1861; Stroupe, Religious Press, 120-121.

37 Francis A. Cabaniss and James A. Cabiniss, "Religion in Ante-Bellum Mississippi," JMH, VI(1944), 206; TW, April 28, 1860.
area, the quarterly Southern Presbyterian Review proposed to serve the entire South. By the time it completed its twelfth volume in 1860, the Review was the outstanding journal of its type in the Slave States. Sponsored by "An Association of ministers in Columbia, South Carolina," Thornwell, Howe, and Adger, handled the editorial duties in admirable fashion. Not only did they include many articles which reflected a conservative approach to theology and faith, but also numerous reviews of recent books and quarterlies (including five British and two French journals) presented a survey of contemporary religious literature. All of the weekly papers in the church unanimously praised the Review and commended each issue. Praise did not pay bills, however, and the editors of the Review had to beg for two hundred new subscribers in early 1860 to erase a "500 loss on the previous volume, saying, "It is a Southern production, and it must live, if at all, by Southern patronage." 38

Strong and patient reliance upon education and publications had not overcome the sins of the unfaithful, nor prevented the encroachment of the Devil into the ranks of the congregations. Regional conservatism and the traditions of blue stocking leaders established rigid standards for human conduct. Church fathers particularly worried over the fading reverence for the Sabbath. Sessions and presbyteries often reminded their flocks of the Fourth Commandment but they frequently heard of Presbyterians who spent the day in "sleeping, worldly conversation, gambling, hunting, frolicking, or attending market." 39 Intemperance was a matter of equal

38 Stroupe, Religious Press, 122; CP, March 10, 1860; SW, February 4, March 10, 1860; NCP, April 14; TW, March 17, April 7, 1860.

39 Zenas A. Feemster, The Travelling Refugee . . . (Springfield, Ill., 1966), 11-12; "Minutes of Presbytery of Platte, 1858, 1863," 5C-51 (April 5, 1861); "Minutes of the Synod of Arkansas, 1852-1872," 135 (October 24, 1861); TW, April 21, 1860; NCP, January 21, 1862.
concern and Presbyterians often spoke out against what they labelled "the wide-spread and appalling evils of intemperance."40 One reason for the strong opposition to liquor was its frequent association with dancing. For the religious man, the only true description of dancing was "promiscuous" and a minister expressed the sentiments of most of his fellow Presbyterians when he asserted that dance "puts in serious jeopardy the immortal interests. As an amusement, it soon becomes exceedingly attractive, and even absorbing."41

Sinners enjoyed dance, drink, and Sunday diversion, while church fathers tried to cleanse the congregations. Those who succumbed to the temptations of worldliness came before the sessions for hearing and trial, although most cases were handled without public attention. Even the clergy fell before Satan's onslaught, usually producing a neighborhood scandal which ended in a lengthy airing at presbytery. If found guilty of the charges, the repentant minister often received a public reprimand and a warning to mend his ways.42

The sins of commission all hindered the progress of the church, but the sins of omission were of even greater concern. Laymen and clergy

40 CO, June 14, 1860; "Minutes of the Presbytery of Western Texas, 1851-1871," 123-126 (1859); "Minutes of Missouri Presbytery, 1851-1869," 216-219 (April 1, 1861); L. A. Beckman, History of Bethsaida Presbyterian Church, Choctaw County, Mississippi (Nier, Miss., nd), 9; "Minutes of the Presbytery of South Alabama, 1852-1863," 144-193 (April 13-19, 1861); "Minutes of the Presbytery of Eastern Texas, 1861-1866," 9 (April 6, 1861).

41 NCP, June 2, 1860, January 12, 1861; SP, August 1, 1860, January 19, 1861; "Minutes of Synod of Mississippi, 1829-1861," 423 (January 19, 1861).

42 "Minutes of the Presbytery of the Western District, 1857-1872," 120-134 (September 6, October 18, 1861); "Minutes of the Presbytery of Memphis, 1857-1862," 290 (September 13, 1861).
agreed on the disastrous lack of attention to missions and evangelism. Since Dixie was a rural land, the work of the Board of Domestic Mission was vital to the region. A long and lingering argument had developed over the matter of control of home missions. Most Southern presbyteries opposed Assembly control from the Philadelphia headquarters and insisted on local direction. The men engaged in this work — evangelists, missionaries, and colporteurs — labored valiantly and added many souls to the church rolls, but their accomplishments failed in numerical comparison with the conversions made by either Baptists or Methodists.

The advances in mission work included building a "Seaman's Bethel" in Charleston, New Orleans, and Wilmington, North Carolina. But rural districts needed help much more desperately than the cities. The uplands of the Piedmont, the Appalachian settlements, and the plains of Texas all begged for men who would bring the Gospel. In former years, the American Home Missionary Society and the American Missionary Society assisted in supplying the needed evangelists, but when these Northern-based units would not aid slaveholders, their missionaries were no longer welcome in the South. The Southern Aid Society, organized in 1853 to relieve this situation, was of great assistance in the Southern synods but it could not fulfill all its requests.

43 Joseph M. Wilson (ed.), The Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual Remembrancer for the Church for 1862 (Philadelphia, 1862), 50-51. According to the Almanac, 226 of the total of 797 workers commissioned by the Board of Domestic Missions for 1861 were planning to work in the South. Only 14% of these were destined for the Lower South.


In an effort to fill the religious vacuum among the many new settlers in the Mississippi Valley and beyond, the General Assembly created the Southwestern Advisory Committee for the Board of Domestic Missions in 1859. The Committee soon located in New Orleans and church bodies in the region gave it their enthusiastic support. Donations were quickly disbursed to newly-appointed evangelists and missionaries. Urgent requests for preachers denoted a hunger to hear the preached word, and the Committee's quick response to challenging opportunities answered the prayers of men and women who had not heard a Presbyterian sermon for longer than they cared to recall.

Two other mission fields interested these churchmen. For many years missionaries had preached to the Indians and Negroes of the South. Technically under the control of the Board of Foreign Missions, the missionaries and ministers who labored among the Indians had been at work for more than half a century. Work began among the Cherokees in Tennessee as soon as the Board was organized in 1802. Eight years later, the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, largely a result of Congregationalist and Presbyterian cooperation, sent its first workers to the Cherokees and later to the Choctaws. Until the American Board ceased financing the work in the Indian Territory in 1859, these two Boards served the red men. During these years, men and women labored among the Choctaws, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, teaching the young to read and write, guiding the old to understand the meaning of the Gospel, and encouraging all to accept the white man's way of
life.\textsuperscript{46} Some progress had been made before the Federal Government moved the tribes to the Indian Territory. Missionaries of the American and Presbyterian Boards were among the first to work in the new tribal lands. Gradually the American Board came under the control of the New School and Congregationalist faction which had turned toward abolitionism. In 1856, this group cut off financial aid for missions to the Indians because of the prevalence of slavery among the redskins.\textsuperscript{47} Immediately, the Presbyterian Board prepared to assume the responsibility for all Presbyterians detached by this action.

The men who had long and loving experience in this field deserved the credit for any accomplishments in this mission field. Of such men, the most beloved were Cyrus Byington, Cyrus Kingsbury, and R. V. Loughridge. Kingsbury began his work among the Indians in 1812, preaching to both Creeks and Choctaws. Eventually, he limited his efforts to the Choctaws who affectionately dubbed him "Limping Wolf," due to his crippled foot. This did not indicate any shortage of energy or ability on his part, however, for in addition to his pastoral labors, he founded Pine

\textsuperscript{46} Natalie M. Denison, "Presbyterian Missions and Missionaries among the Choctaw to 1807" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1938), 11-13; William E. Morrison, \textit{Red Man's Trail} (Richmond, 1932), 43;


\textsuperscript{47} CP, January 28, March 24, 1860; Annie H. Abel, \textit{The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist} (Cleveland, 1915), 22; Denison, "Presbyterian Missions," 79-80.
Ridge Seminary which became a well known girls school. Evington, named "Sounding Horn" by the Choctaws because of his loud preaching, had served the Indians since 1790 as minister and translator of hymns, scripture, and grammar books into the Choctaw language. Loughridge was the leader among the Creeks. After beginning his mission activities in 1842, he had concentrated his efforts on establishing and guiding the large and highly respected Tullahassee School.48

Missionaries achieved most of their success among the Creeks and Choctaws, but the Seminoles, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, also attracted some attention. Samuel A. Worcester, a veteran of service to the Cherokees before his death in 1859, founded the weekly Cherokee Almanac in 1836. His printing plant also turned out large amounts of religious literature, including Worcester's own translation of the Bible into the native tongue. The Chickasaw Nation boasted the Wapanucka Academy as a mission achievement and this school had a large following in the tribe. In spite of the Academy and small mission to the Seminoles, however, Presbyterian missions had limited success except among the Creeks and Choctaws. The missionaries fostered educational advances, encouraged temperance, and helped improve the standard of living, in the two tribes, and Choctaw Nation was said to be "a model community."49


For more than forty years slavery had been discussed with intermittent fervor in the General Assembly, but after formation of the New School, most abolitionists went into that body. As late as 1849, the subject came up and the Old School Assembly declared in essence a "hands off" policy. Such a ruling pleased the Southern commissioners and members across the Slave States were content with the belief that the church had decided to close the issue once and for all. Although Presbyterians in the mountain districts of the South once endorsed emancipation, their voices had grown silent. But no one forgot the blacks. Year after year, members heard that the slave was a member of the owner's religious family and the master was responsible for the spiritual well-being of his slaves. As a result, Negroes attended services with their masters, usually sitting in a separate area, and listened to regular devotions on the plantation.

A few men tried to evangelize slaves on the plantations. The work of Charles Colcock Jones in Liberty County, Georgia, was particularly unique. For thirty years he preached all over the county and brought almost two thousand Negroes to the church. He also prepared a number of

50 Vander Velde, Presbyterian Churches, 26-131; Caleb P. Patterson, The Year in Tennessee, 1790-1865 (Austin, 1922), 143-144; Walter E. Posey, "The Slavery Question in the Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest," JSH, XV (1949), 311-324; Chase C. Mooney, Slavery in Tennessee (Bloomington, 1957), 73.

51 Francis McFarland Diary, 1860-1865, MSS, Manuscripts Collection, University of Virginia; Diary of Jacob Henry Smith, 1860-1865, MSS, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.
catechisms and sermons for use in instructing the slaves. Others carried on similar activities in Mississippi and Georgia, but on a much more limited scale.

After about 1830, few churchmen openly opposed slavery. Prior to that date many leaders discussed the practice with some objectivity, but as the middle of the century passed, only such ministers as Francis McFarland of Virginia and Eli Washington Caruthers of Alamance County, North Carolina, questioned slavery's religious and moral bases. But even these men were unwilling to speak their opinions publicly. With most of the noted clergymen and laymen owning slaves, the southern Presbyterian defense of slavery was vigorous, immediate, and biblically oriented.

As churchmen in the region heard growing abolitionist attacks, they intensified their defense of slavery. Most of these defenses centered around the assertion that the institution was outside the realm

---

52 EP, June 16, 1860; "Minutes of the Presbytery of Georgia, 1782-1793," 17-35 (November 15, 1963); "Ralph E. Planders, Plantation Slavery in Georgia (Chapel Hill, 1933), 176-177." For a brief summary of Jones's work and a list of his major writings, intended for use among the Negroes, see Mary Sharpe Jones and Mary Jones Mallard, "Yankee All Comers." One North's Experience During the Invasion of Liberty County, Georgia, 1864-1865. Edited by Haskell Monroe. (Tuscaloosa, 1939), 15-22, 94.

53 NE, November 10, 1860; CE, September 21, 1861; "Minutes of the Mississippi Presbytery, 1742-1761," 593 (March 22, 1861); NC, March 10, 1860.

of the church, that slavery was not only scripturally recognized, but was a means of civilizing the Negro. Soon after the middle of the century, such leaders as Thornwell, Jetney, Palmer, and Thomas R. R. Cobb, explained their views.\(^{55}\) Lesser lights echoed the arguments of the leaders and by 1860, Presbyterians in the South joined in the defense of slavery. Sectional pride dictated that the Yankee must be shown how wrong he was to attack a means of Christianizing a backward people. Scarcely an issue of a church paper failed to mention the matter and every presbytery meeting encouraged more attention to the slaves.

Many observers feared that slavery might be debated by the 1861 General Assembly. Southern Churchmen, though unanimously opposed to reopening the African slave trade, hoped to keep the entire issue out of church courts.\(^{56}\) They believed this would ease tensions and eliminate any threat to the religious work among the Negroes. As Presbyterians assessed their accomplishments with regard to the slaves in their midst, it was clear they had fallen far short of the Methodists and Baptists in bringing the Negro to church membership. Contemporary estimates of slave communicants in the Old School Church agreed on the total of 12,000 members, with about one-half that total in the United Synod. Since perhaps three-fourths of all white members in the Old School in the South


\(^{56}\) OR, June 2, August 11, September 15, 1860; John F. Adger, "Revival of the Slave Trade," SPB, XI(1858-1859), 100.
were members of slaveholding families, such a total was not impressively high.57

Slavery might be under fire from the North, but as far as white Southerners were concerned, the institution was being improved. This faith in future progress was consistent with the situation throughout the church as the presidential year of 1860 began to unravel the nation’s hatreds. Schools and colleges thought they were on the verge of success. Sir, while not on the decline, was still being fought with vigor. Missions received more attention than usual, and more important, had more dollars as well. Presbyterianism in the South awaited the culmination of years of prayer and hope. The Lord was showering the faithful with his blessings. As proof of his enrichment, presbyteries marked the renewed interest of congregations, while narratives of church bodies indicated hope and confidence in the future. Revivals were described in all parts of the Southern Zion. New buildings were under construction and new congregations were asking for presbyterial recognition.58 Each "outpouring of grace" brought in large numbers of "precious souls" who had been "hopefully converted."

The rising interest within the church was evident to many. Rocky River Church of Concord Presbytery, North Carolina, claimed to be the largest Old School congregation in the South with 616 members. It was planning a new sanctuary which would seat one thousand worshippers on

57 Richmond Enquirer, March 9, 1861; Atlanta City City Guardian, February 19, 1861; Posey, "Slavery Question," JSH, XV(1860), 311-324.

58 Church periodicals described revivals in thirty-six Old School and seventeen United Synod congregations in 1860. These reports indicated that 985 souls in the Old School and 573 in the United Synod had been "converted."
the main floor and 400 slaves in the balcony. Seven new buildings were under construction in Texas, where more ministers were needed because of the rapid growth in membership. All over the states of Florida, Texas, Missouri, and Arkansas, Presbyterians called for someone to come and lead them. With taller steeples rising to point the way to God, Presbyterians across the South felt confident of the prospects of their church. The only spectre on the horizon was the increasing seriousness of the sectional crisis, but churchmen agreed that political matters were of little concern for men of God.

59 NCP, March 3, September 22, 1860; SP, February 4, 1860.
Chapter II  "Patriots and Christians, To the Rescue."

The new year of 1860 opened on a hopeful note for Southern Presbyterians. Pleasant prospects of making real and marked gains in the Lord's work, plus the possibility of easing the sectional agonies gave birth to much optimism. Churchmen were aware of the threat which war held over religion and feared the effects of violence upon the followers of the Prince of Peace.

Presbyterian leaders south of the Potomac spoke of pacificism early in the year. Newspapers took the lead, with one paper expressing a hope that this "may be to all a year fraught with the richest blessings, both temporal and spiritual," while two others deplored any possible "rise of violence." Everyone agreed publicly that war was not wanted, for it was the most awful of man's means of self-destruction.¹ As far as editors and readers were concerned, the South was innocent of all wrong and therefore all she desired was justice in all matters.

Early in the year, the North Carolina Presbyterian did not respond to calls for harmony between the sections, but pointed to the dangers of the Yankee and his ideas. For a few months, these outspoken beliefs made the Tarheel paper a lonely voice in the church. Though other organs and observers spoke out for state rights, they did not demonstrate any fear of an imminent split in the Union. Such comparatively restrained beliefs helped to calm passions for a brief moment. As long as religious folk at least called for peace and understanding, the chances of national unity were strengthened. Presbyterians took pride in their lack of extremism and quoted the alleged statement

¹ SP, January 7, 1860; MM, January 14, 1860; CP, January 7-14, 1860.
of Cyrus McCormick that the only forces holding the Union together were the Old School Presbyterian Church and the Democratic Party. While McCormick may have emphasized the importance of his own church, it was true that the breakup of both the Methodist and Baptist Churches had increased tensions within the Union.

Old School members in the South had begun to demonstrate feelings of sectionalism as early as 1820. Their quarrels usually centered on slavery, but Southerners had been able to obtain a palatable ruling on this question from the General Assembly. In the crisis of 1850 most churchmen in the South leaned toward the Union and for a few years there was relative quiet on matters of sectional interest within the Old School. One old matter which cropped up with regularity, however, was the power of the executive Boards of the church. Southerners deeply resented the management of denominational affairs from offices in Philadelphia and New York as a kind of religious "absentee ownership." Creation of the Southwestern Advisory Committee in 1859 had silenced some cries for local control and the quick response to the Committee's calls for funds showed how eager the section was for such a local organization.

Recognized leaders in the church had usually led the way toward conciliation. In 1850, R. L. Dabney had been a notable exception, for he argued that the South should take a firm stand for her rights. James

---

2 MCP, February 11, April 21, 1860; CP, February 4, 25, 1860; TH, January 21, February 11, April 14, May 12, 1860; Vander Velde, Presbyterian Churches, 21; Charles S. Sydnor, The Development of Southern Sectionalism (Baton Rouge, 1948), 299-300.

3 Margaret B. DesChamps, "Union or Division? South Atlantic Presbyterians and Southern Nationalism, 1820-1861," JSH, XX(1954), 484-498.
H. Thornwell, while often chastising the Yankees, had unreservedly opposed disunion at that time, saying "dissolution of the Union is synonymous with ruin." Moses Hoge could always be counted on to oppose radicalism and on the eve of the new year of 1860, wrote his brother William, associate pastor at New York City's Brick Church, "the South never needed calmness and moderation more than now." But while such men as Hoge worked to put out the flames fanned by the fire-eaters, James A. Lyon dared to exclaim in Mississippi: "How can we regard the enemies of the Union in any other light than as enemies of God, the enemies of the sure church and the enemies of the human race?"4

In the spring, sectionalism was noticeably absent from presbytery deliberations, or at least from their official reports.5 Wary and watchful eyes turned toward the North, however, and the organs of the section repeated the requests for more reliance on Southern resources and talents. This was one of the reasons for the great attention to the possible suspension of the Southern Presbyterian Review. All observers agreed that readers in the church must rely more on literature from the South, but also they would have to turn to God, for only He could save the nation from impending doom.6

Congregations revealed their sectionalism in their attitudes


5 A check of all periodicals and minutes of church judicial bodies revealed an almost complete silence on the sectional crisis until the last quarter of 1861.

6 NOP, March 17, May 12, 1860.
toward ministers from the North. A man from outside the South was suspect for many years, and in some instances, was never "accepted." All Northerners were considered potential abolitionists, and some congregations would not call a man to their pulpit unless they were completely sure of his opinions on the major political and social issues of the day. Still, hospitality for visitors was not forgotten in the midst of this increasing misunderstanding between Americans. One notable visitor to the South was Gardiner Spring, the venerable senior minister at the Brick Church in New York City for half a century and a leader of unsurpassed prestige in the Northern wing of the church. When he came to Charleston in March of 1860, he preached in Thomas Smyth's pulpit at the Second Church and aroused a good deal of sympathetic interest as he visited with fellow churchmen. Most of the congregation was delighted to hear him and glad he had an opportunity to learn their true feelings on the issues before the nation. The elders and deacons who welcomed Spring were more patient than some of the younger generation, for some Presbyterian students from the South were already leaving Northern colleges and returning to their homes.7

The Democratic Convention in Charleston helped open verbal warfare between churchmen. Ministers had only casual roles at the meeting, but men of God watched the political gathering with care, for even


In the midst of this situation, the Rev. William Hoge had been generously aided by his New York parishioners after fire destroyed his home and his library. NCP, February 11-18, 1860; CO, February 16, 1860.
preachers voted and had party loyalties. Thomas Smyth offered an opening prayer at one session of the Convention and some of the delegates were highly impressed with Charleston's Presbyterian preachers, but the angry walk-out of Southern delegates a few days later received more notice in church papers than did his words. With the Old School Assembly at Rochester, New York, less than a month away, many men feared that radicalism would pass from the political realm into the religious. Editors and preachers all over the South joined in requests that the Assembly not discuss political matters. These men did not predict trouble, as did the New School prophets who described the imminent division of the Old School, but their statements indicated worry and concern.8

The Assembly opened harmoniously. For Southern commissioners, there was some initial satisfaction when John B. Adger was second in the election of the new moderator of the Assembly. Also, they were pleased when the slavery question did not come to the floor for discussion. The most contested item during the two weeks of deliberation centered around a renewed attempt to reduce the authority of the powerful Boards. This attempt, almost completely a Southern effort, followed Thornwell's arguments for a kind of states rights within the church, but once more the men from Dixie failed.9

---


9
After the Assembly adjourned, to reconvene in May, 1861, in Philadelphia, everyone expressed gratification with the results of the meeting. The report of the stated clerk, the Reverend John Leyburn, a Virginian, indicated that membership in the Old School was approaching 300,000 communicants. Narratives of the presbyteries pointed optimistically to the future. Southerners, not forgetting their desires to restrict the authority of the Boards, were nevertheless relieved when the Assembly adjourned after such a harmonious gathering. They smiled at New School predictions of dissension and pointed out the benefits to be enjoyed when men of God meet face to face. Clearly the tension had eased. 10

While the Old School deliberated in Rochester, the United Synod commissioners gathered in Huntsville, Alabama. After an opening sermon on "The Great Commission" by the retiring moderator, the delegates began the routine work of the annual meeting. They approved the admission of the Presbytery of Lexington in Missouri for membership in the Synod and were greatly encouraged at this mark of growth. In addition to the regular requests for home mission support, they heard particular pleas for ministers in Texas, Kentucky, and southern Alabama. Summaries of the year's accomplishments by the Synod's two foreign missionaries, Michael Kalopathakes, preaching in Athens, and Samuel A. Rhea, "missionary to the Nestorians," elicited keen interest from all.

Of all the items considered at the meeting, the statements concerning the prospective new seminary were most eagerly awaited. When

10 Wilson (ed.), Presbyterian Almanac for 1861, 65, 112-121; NCP, June 2-9; 1860; CP, May 26-June 20, August 4, 1860; SP, May 26, June 16, 1860; TW, June 2, 1860; Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, June 18, 1860.
Boyd reported the progress of the year's work, he reviewed mixed results. The drive to collect funds had shown creditable returns, for almost two-thirds of the needed $100,000 had already been pledged. Boyd noted that these funds had been promised because the "people generally have a deep interest in this work and have responded nobly." But the plan to locate the seminary near the University of Virginia so the divinity students might attend University classes without charge had been jolted by the refusal of the University Board of visitors to grant the request of the seminary representatives. Thus, the seminary would have to postpone the scheduled opening until 1861 and perhaps locate elsewhere. In the meantime, news from the Synod's other schools indicated little except hope for a brighter future.

Presbytery and synod narratives reflected a general atmosphere of optimism over recent growth within the Synod. Revivals had continued. Total membership was near 12,000 communicants. Politically, the Synod's members were united — in defense of slavery, the South, and the United Synod from the attacks of the New School and the entire North. As the commissioners returned home, they hoped that the 1861 meeting, planned for Richmond, would be yet another step on the road of progress.\footnote{Wilson (ed.), Presbyterian Almanac for 1861, 189, 193; 00, May 24–June 7, 1860.}

The only threat to all of the bright prospects for the church was the approaching presidential campaign. During the first weeks of this political race, church papers in the South expressed no preference among the candidates and only begged faithful members not to become involved in political affairs at the expense of neglecting the Lord's work. Few, if any, observers expressed any immediate fear of disunion as a result of
the race for the White House. It seemed that too many conservative people still believed in the Union to allow any group of radicals or extremists to divide the nation. Also, churchmen noted that religious papers had not stooped to indulge in party issues. While the Southern Presbyterian impatiently awaited the outcome of the voting and the Central Presbyterian paused in editorial silence, the True Witness cried out: "Patriots and Christians, To The Rescue, and Save Your Country."

For the pessimists who not only foresaw the division of the nation but the church as well, the Witness offered a simple promise: "Our Church Will Never Divide.""13

Since slavery very often was at the heart of the argument over sectionalism, churchmen never relaxed their defense of the institution. They restated the old arguments of the Biblical nature, the righteousness, and the genuine humaneness of slavery. A late Mississippi clergyman was cited as the first man to give a "clear and unanswerable argument against the . . . view that slavery was a sin," supposedly proving beyond question, the Biblical nature of the institution. At the same time, Southerners asserted that abolitionism was a "sin per se," and such organizations as the American Tract Society of Boston were said to be "in a high degree, insolent and pernicious."

Church members heard their leaders tell them of the true nature of slavery, of the need for educating and Christianizing the Negro, and of the dangers of all who would destroy the foundation of the South's

12 NCP, May 12, June 2, 1860.
14 TW, February 25, August 18, 1860; NCP, January 14, 1860; CP, January 14, 1860.
agrarian economy. Some churchmen in the Border States, because of continued agitation over slavery, had recently abandoned the New School. Now, these people found welcoming friends in the Old School and in the United Synod. 15

Increasing sectional hatred worried the Indian missionaries because they realized the perilous position of their stations if passions erupted. They had already seen the disruption of the work of the American Board and now they feared internal strife as well as hatred between religious workers of different sectional loyalties. In the past, Cyrus Kingsbury and the Choctaws had generally favored slavery, in spite of the opposition of some of the Cherokees and the late Samuel Worcester. When the argument involved sectional preference, R. M. Loughridge, Kingsbury, and Cyrus Byington, endorsed the position of the South, although many of their colleagues leaned toward the North. Completion of the transfer of many of the missionaries from the American Board to direct Presbyterian control early in 1861 pleased many Southerners because most of the men transferred were natives of Dixie and defenders of slavery. But none of the men was willing to assert the sectional bias at the expense of injuring the mission work among the tribes. 16

Men of God who served the Indians had little time for arguments over national issues in 1860. Instead, they had to worry about such


basic needs as food and clothing. Summer marked the beginning of a food shortage that reached dangerous proportions by the end of the year. By winter, destitution was particularly acute among the Choctaws, with some families facing actual starvation. Early in the autumn a different sort of shortage struck two other tribes. After forty-three years of work and expenditures over $350,000, the Board of Foreign Missions decided to close the Cherokee Mission, leaving the three missionaries to this tribe "dumb with surprise." The Board summarized the work by a statement that the Cherokees were now a Christian people and the Presbyterian Mission Board claimed partial credit for this accomplishment, although only some three hundred Cherokees were members of the Presbyterian Church. At almost the same time Wapanucka Academy, the fine school for the Chickasaws, closed due to a shortage of operating expenses. ¹⁷

As the academic year opened across the South, schoolmen listened to the orations of political candidates, but they watched for the expected improvements in their schools. Enrollments increased in almost every institution sponsored by the church, with record numbers in some instances. College presidents joyfully reported encouraging signs for the year ahead. LaGrange, Stewart, and Austin all predicted bright achievements. Davidson College was still searching for a president, but had some highly esteemed administrators under consideration. Plans for a new Arkansas Synodical College, to be located in Arkadelphia, were complete. The administrators and faculty might listen to the campaigners, but students enjoyed the pleasure of arguing the issues of the hour.

¹⁷ "Records of the Choctaw Mission, 1853-1870," 83 (September 24, 1860), MSS, Montreat; NCF, December 29, 1860; TMS, December 8, 1860; CO, October 18, 1860, January 31, 1861; Wright, "Wapanucka Academy," C of O, XII (1934), 421-423; Abel, Indian as Slaveholder, 40.
When the Thalian Society at Oglethorpe, led by its ex-president Sidney Lanier, debated the topic "Would the formation of a Southern confederacy enhance the commercial prosperity of the South," the decision went to the affirmative. 18

Both Presbyterian seminaries in the South opened classes with signs of growth. Columbia had a record enrollment of sixty-two men, including six from the North. Officials of the Seminary indicated only two needs: amassing a loan fund for indigent seminarians and locating a professor capable of handling the Perkins Professorship to harmonize science and religion. 19 At Union, thirty-nine scholars, an increase over the previous year, reported for study. Thirteen of these men were new to divinity studies and they soon impressed the faculty with their abilities. With such men to follow an excellent faculty, which included a new tutor of Hebrew, Union now felt prepared to fulfill the expectations of many Virginians. 20

Church papers mirrored with some degree of accuracy the attitudes and feelings of church members during the course of the political campaign. From the comparative quiet of the early summer to the intensity of the debates in the fall, the weekly journals printed countless letters and articles from readers. These statements, plus editorial comments,


revealed that a wide range of feeling existed in the southern portion of the church concerning the outcome of the campaign. In the meantime, two papers completed plans to improve their positions. In late September, editor Richmond McInnis of the *True Witness* arranged a merger with the *Presbyterian Sentinel* of Memphis — in reality an absorption of the Sentinel — and thus enhanced his position as the Old School journalist for the entire Mississippi Valley. At almost the same time, a new group, Elam Sharpe and Company, bought the *Southern Presbyterian* and moved its office to Columbia. Each paper benefited greatly from these changes. The *True Witness and Sentinel* soon claimed to be "the largest religious paper in the southern country" and McInnis carried on a prolonged journalistic debate with the *Christian Observer* over slavery, the Old School Church, and the comparative merits of editors McInnis of the *Witness* and Amos & Converse of the *Observer*. On the other hand, the *Southern Presbyterian* quickly attracted favorable comment for its immediate improvement. The new editor, Abner A. Porter, an Alabama minister with a gift of personality and a wide range of acquaintances, brightened the *Southern's* appearance with new type, increased the size of the paper, widened the news coverage, and promised to produce a publication which would be "equal to any in the Presbyterian church in every respect."

Through September and during the early days of October, church papers still reflected the comparative optimism of the Presbyterians toward the presidential election. Busy with the shift in management, the *Southern Presbyterian* was still comparatively reserved in its

---

21 TWS, September 8, December 29, 1860; SP, September 29, December 29, 1860; NCP, November 24, 1860.
comments — almost an oddity in South Carolina at that time. It condemned "Political Preachers" and promised to serve "southern Christians, in the perilous position, which, in the Providence of God, they are at present called to occupy." After the General Assembly in May, the North Carolina Presbyterian contained much less sectional bias than previously and asked for loyalty to the faith during political excitements. Both the Central Presbyterian and the True Witness and Sentinel spoke for moderation and each described the great dangers of a civil war. The Witness, perhaps foreseeing an election result which would displease the South, begged: "Let patriots pause, reflect, and act with the fear of God before their eyes, and the good of our country at heart." 22

Because he had to sell his papers in all sections of the nation, Converse published few controversial items in the Christian Observer. On the few occasions he allowed politics and slavery to appear on his pages, Converse discussed these topics with gentle vagueness. So, in the few weeks before the culmination of the election campaign, church papers fumbled and searched for answers — answers which they hoped would please all readers.

While church papers were looking for a solution to their problems, individual Presbyterians in the South were also searching their souls for guidance during the election campaign. They were not united, but they were all Southern in sympathy and were solidly in agreement that their rights had not been respected. Most of all, they feared Abraham Lincoln and the party he represented. Whatever his policies might be,

22 SP, September 29, 1860; NCP, August 11, September 15, 1860; CP, September 3, 1860; TNS, September 29, 1860.
they believed that he would work contrary to Southern interests. Yet, these men did not consider themselves radicals. They were, they thought, trying to exercise a conservative control over the Federal Government and they considered that Lincoln and his fellow Republicans were threatening this control.

During the last weeks before election, churchmen all over the South became worried over the prospects of Lincoln's victory. Suddenly they seemed to realize that the election would go against them. This realization shocked no one more than Thornwell, who returned to the United States in September, after a summer of travel in Europe to regain and restore his health. Although he had not completely regained his strength, he plunged into the activity of shoring up the confidence of his fellow churchmen in Southern sectionalism. He soon endorsed the movement to prepare for secession in South Carolina. The influence of such a man could not be discounted, for his contemporaries had learned, "that he will go right, and if he does not go right, it will be vain to oppose him, because he will be very likely to carry his point, right or wrong."23

Others began to follow Thornwell's pattern of sectionalism. Some presbyteries no longer were willing to send their collections for mission work to Philadelphia, but turned the funds over to local committees.24 Preachers who had never discussed politics from the pulpit began to comment on the coming election. The word "Yankee" took on a new connotation, even among men of God.

23 Palmer, Thornwell, 467; TM, April 28, 1860.
24 CP, November 6, 1860; TWS, September 8, 1860.
But the vigor of such sectionalists as Thornwell did not yet reflect the attitudes of most Southern Presbyterians, for they were more moderate, more concerned with the continuation of the church's work during such perilous times. Fall reports from presbytery and synod meetings still indicated moderate and hesitant sentiments. 25 A number of these bodies set aside days of "Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer," so that members might strengthen themselves in the faith before they approached the ballot box.

Most church leaders in the South were seriously worried over the effects of the election on the church. In Virginia, West Hanover Presbytery called on all members to ask God to "pardon our sins and avert the dangers which we fear." Fayetteville Presbytery in North Carolina begged the people to trust only in the Almighty and pointed out that "the state of things calls loudly for the people of God everywhere within our bounds to wrestle afresh with the angel of the covenant for a blessing." In Louisiana, Red River Presbytery noted that a great interest in politics had hindered the growth of the church. The Synod of Missouri narrative reported that Old School members were pleased that they could still preach the Gospel "without exciting suspicion and without taking part in the angry turmoil around us," while the Synod of Virginia calmly maintained there was "every reason to take hopeful and encouraging views of our future progress." 26

Individuals as well as judicial bodies still tried to calm the angry outbursts around them. They sought to prevent any extremism within

25 No marked secession sentiment was found in the minutes of synods and presbyteries which met before the election.

26 CP, September 15, October 20, 1860; NCP, October 20, 1860; TLS, October 13, 1860; "Missouri Synod, 1856-1868," 306-308 (October 13, 1860).
the church, for they did not want any threat to the unity of God's Kingdom. As men of peace and harmony, most ministers and elders hoped to see an immediate end to all talk of war or sectionalism. Secession was not yet discussed by many churchmen publicly, but it was often inferred. When these usually meditative and prayerful men looked around them, they often viewed the scene with sadness and awaited the future with "profound sorrow and anxiety." Most Presbyterians expressed the political attitudes of their states in their choice of candidates. Where they differed from the majority, such as in the Deep South, they favored the more conservative candidate. In Virginia and North Carolina sentiment among church leaders was particularly strong for the Constitutional Union ticket. 27

By the end of October most moderates despaired over the chances of preserving any degree of stability or rationality. They had seen men and women lose all sense of reserve. They also realized that war would most probably be one of the results of any extreme action by the South. They could only pray for divine guidance. Church papers now cried out for moderation also, with the notable exception of the Southern Presbyterian, which was holding its editorial breath in expectation of the voting. The North Carolina Presbyterian, claiming to be "established on a safe, 'paying circulation,'" spoke with regularity of the need for prayerful patience. As the Old School had not taken any official position on the political issues, the Central Presbyterian raised such a non-committal policy and added: "If the calm, common sense of the

masses could only be allowed to act, and express itself, there would be no difficulty in adjusting every question at issue in a satisfactory manner." By this time, even the True Witness and Sentinel was ready to halt the verbal combat with the Christian Observer long enough to ask readers to pray for the Country. This paper summarized the national situation thus: "Sectional strife, fanaticism, infidelity, and general recklessness pervade every position of our land and call loudly for prayers of Christians. Our safety is not in the wisdom of man, party organizations, or platforms, but in God." While Old School papers pleaded for calmness, so did the papers serving the United Synod and Associate Reformed Synod of the South.  

While the cover of the Southern Presbyterian Review changed from tan to a definite gray, some Presbyterians still had the courage and confidence to speak out for hesitation. Although it was increasingly difficult to do so, ministers continued to cry out in the midst of the now more radical wilderness. When the Synod of Virginia met in Lynchburg in the crucial month before election day, the proceedings noticeably omitted any mention of extremism, but instead appointed the first day of November as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, "under the conviction that if God does not interpose in our behalf, the days of our republic are numbered, and her sun [will] go down amid clouds and tempest."  

---

28 J. H. Smith Diary, October 31, 1860; McFarland Diary, November 1, 1860; MCP, September 22, 1860; CP, October 13, 27, 1860; TWS, October 27, 1860; DWT, quoted in CO, November 22, 1860.  

On that day of fasting, only five days previous to the casting of ballots, Dabney summoned all his ability to preach a special sermon on "The Christian's Best Motive for Patriotism." As he stood before the students of Hampden-Sydney and Union Seminary in the College Church, his piercing grey eyes and tightly drawn lips revealed the intensity of his interest in his message. For once, he subordinated his deep love of Virginia in order to proclaim the necessity of rational loyalty above all other interests. With a "perfect directness of purpose in the pursuit of his object," he appealed not only to the congregation before him, but to Christians throughout the South as he sought to explain "in the most solemn manner the imminence and horrors of war." Throughout his address he emphasized the Christian's obligations to preserve peace, urging the faithful to "declare that from this day, no money, no vote, no influence of yours, shall go to the maintenance of any other counsels than those of moderation, righteousness, and manly forbearance." As he concluded his remarks, Dabney admonished the young men before him that "every Christian must study the things which make for peace." 30

Dabney's passionate plea was the last major Presbyterian effort to allay the storm of anger that was sweeping up men of all beliefs. As religious men held their feelings in check until the election on November 6, they pondered the result of a possible victory by Lincoln. The general consensus was that this would justify extreme action by the South — even secession. On November 9, three days after the casting of ballots, the Southern Presbyterian broke editorial silence on the sectional issue and

discussed secession — the first denominational paper in the South to do so. The paper first agreed that South Carolinians were nearly unanimous in their desire to secede and then concluded: "One thing appears to us clear and certain, namely that the South cannot continue to endure the perturbations and harassments of the past."  

Sudden realization of Lincoln's victory and its supposed consequences sent previously conservative Southerners immediately into the secessionist camp, but many first dropped to their knees to pray for guidance. The Synod of North Carolina set a post-election day of fasting and prayer to "avert the evils with which the country is now threatened." Men of restraint were not despondent over the prospects before the church and the section. Whether they liked it or not, they now had to consider political consequences and they had to balance their belief in state rights with the possibility of bloodshed to protect these sacred rights. Ministers almost tearfully noted that morality had been forgotten in the heat of political controversy. Collegians temporarily lost interest in studies. President Samuel E. Talmadge and the student body of Oglethorpe University journeyed to Milledgeville to hear Benjamin Hill address the legislature of Georgia on the issues before the state.

The organs of the Presbyterian Church in the South, newspapers and ministers, generally regretted the triumph of radical sectionalism,
but disunion was clearly on the horizon in South Carolina and perhaps in a number of other states. Although Thornwell was pleased with this trend, church papers noted the ominous signs with some regrets — all except the Southern Presbyterian, which rejoiced South Carolina's hasty action. The church spokesmen were most worried by the threat of war. They felt "there is but a step between us and disunion, civil war and destruction." They were not yet willing to risk their Zion on the altar of fire and sword. Like the rest of their fellow Southerners, they had staked everything on the election of 1860 — even their loyalty. When the election results angered them, a majority hesitated, but in South Carolina most men agreed "there is very little difference of opinion, and that only as to the time of action." For men of all opinions, time had run out — that is, time to consider. Men now had to stand for their convictions and the decision would be neither easy nor simple.

33 SC, November 15, 1860; SR, November 9, 1860.
Chapter III "For our enemies, resistance . . . ."

The election of Lincoln had angered and frightened Southerners. They found that he represented a threat to all they held dear. As far as they were concerned, the victory of the tall, thin Republican at the polls justified extreme action by the Slave States.

When Presbyterians considered this crisis, they had to rely on their own intuitions and faith, or look to the leaders of the denomination. Since few church judicial bodies were slated to convene between the November election and the presidential inauguration in March, there could be little coordination of Presbyterian activities during this period. Instead, men and women reacted according to the dictates of their consciences and prejudices. All across the land of tobacco and cotton, church leaders had now to decide which section they would defend.

South Carolina prepared to act first. Here Presbyterians had long been leaders. Unquestionably, James Thornwell was the foremost theologian in the state. Although he had opposed secession in 1850, he now decided that the South could no longer safely remain in the Union. Believing the Republicans had perverted the old Union, he proclaimed: "It cannot work as it now stands. . . . the greatest danger is that of submission to Lincoln's election."¹

As Thornwell encouraged secession, the Southern Presbyterian, enthusiastically wielded by Abner Porter, endorsed the work of the disunionists. As early as mid-November, the Southern discussed secession, but admitted having "emotions of grief" at the thought of leaving the

Union. Still, the paper called for peaceful separation and asserted, "We say it is the duty of the South to resist now."  

On November 21, a day of fasting and prayer throughout South Carolina, Thornwell delivered a stirring sermon on "National Sins." He began by agreeing that ministers should not speak on political matters, but as a citizen he could not remain silent. The sins of the nation, he thought, were responsible for the present difficulties. These sins, especially in the political arena, now endangered the nation. Slavery, which he defended at some length, had been attacked without cause as the "organs of Government have been perverted from their original design." As he ended his remarks, he warned the Carolinians gathered before him: "Finally, let us pray that our courage may be equal to every emergency. . . . Let right and duty be our watchword."  

While Thornwell spoke in Columbia, Thomas Smyth and W. C. Dana addressed their congregations in Charleston. Smyth, speaking on "The Union, and the True Source of Disunion," described the merits of slavery and charged his audience with the care of the servants around them. Then, he went on to cry that the South had a commission to preserve the Word of God against the efforts of all who would produce an abolitionist Bible and an anti-slavery God. Dana called for Southern independence and commended the cause of secession. "It is a righteous cause on which we invoke blessings." Government by a political party of men from the North.

---

2 SP, November 17, 1860; CO, November 20, 1860. According to H. Harrison Daniel, in "The Protestant Church in the Confederate States of America" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Duke University, 1957), 26, the Southern Presbyterian was the first denominational paper in the South to discuss secession.

would, in his opinion, be "the most odious and the most dangerous form of foreign aggression." Up in the foothills of the Piedmont, Zelotes Holmes found "Providence Indicating Secession," and he agreed on the justification of leaving the Union. In his opinion the movement toward separation was inevitable, for one "might as easily dam up the Amazon with a clamshell, as to check the accumulating torrents towards separation, which the Providence of God had set a-going."

Sermons such as these encouraged disunionists in the Gamecock state. Thornwell's words, which were widely reprinted, were often quoted from both pulpit and platform. All over the state, politicians considered the efforts of religious leaders to give moral bases to secession. In the midst of such agitation, the Synod of South Carolina gathered in Charleston. Matters of political import dominated the deliberations attended by almost one hundred ministers and elders. First, the Presbytery of Charleston proposed that the Synod leave the General Assembly. Only after careful and considerable discussion, the churchmen decided to table all suggestions of this nature. Finally, after much public prayer and supplication "with reference to the present juncture of political affairs," the Synod portentously decided: "The people of South Carolina are now solemnly called on to imitate their revolutionary forefathers and stand up for their rights." As for the future, these Old School leaders agreed, "We have a humble confidence that the God, whose truth we represent

4 Thomas Smyth, The Sin and the Curse; or, The Union, and the True Source of Disunion, and Our Duty in the Present Crisis . . . . (Charleston, 1860); W. C. Dana, A Sermon Delivered in the Central Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C., November 21st, 1860 (Charleston, 1860); Laurensville (S.C.) Herald, November 30, 1860.
in this conflict, will be with us."^5

As the Secession Convention prepared to begin deliberations, the statements of the churchmen attracted attention, not only in South Carolina, but throughout Dixie. Before the politicians discussed the possible secession of the Gamecock state, the *Southern Presbyterian* agreed that secession was a "foregone conclusion" and proclaimed, "The day of destiny comes on. Our watchword is — God, and our rights!" At the Convention of the People of South Carolina, Thornwell and three other Presbyterian clergymen, two of them his colleagues on the Columbia Seminary faculty, addressed the delegates. Each spoke in favor of disunion, and Thornwell passionately described the danger represented by Lincoln and begged for secession. ^6

After the Convention unanimously voted to leave the Union, Thornwell and others worked to reinforce the political decision. He labored for the new regime with what his friends called "a consuming passion." His treatise on "The State of the Country," written during the height of the political crisis in the Deep South, congratulated the actions of the Secession Convention. In addition to stating a defense of slavery, he justified all that South Carolina had done and asked for peace between the sections. This significant speech was widely circulated in both North

---


6 *SP*, December 3-15, 1860; *NCP*, December 8-15, 1860, January 5, 1861; *CP*, December 15, 1860; Charles E. Cauthen, *South Carolina Goes to War* (Chapel Hill, 1850), 44; The first man to sign the ordinance of secession was T. C. Perrin, a well-known elder. (Adger, *Life and Times*, 339).
and South. 7

Although he became ill in January and spent most of the next six months in bed, Thornwell still fought the enemies of the South with his pen. On the subject of secession, he justified his state's actions as he confided to a friend: "I did everything in my power to promote it . . . Black Republicanism had rendered it impossible to remain in it "the Union" with honour. I always thought that war would be the consequence. . . . Under God, I believe the final result is certain." 8

Meanwhile, the Southern Presbyterian vigorously did all in its power to aid the secessionists. Throughout the winter and into spring, this paper became more militantly anti-Northern and frequently commended the efforts of the founders of the Confederacy. Still, the editor asked that no one forget his religious obligation, for religion must not be lost while winning political rights. As for the possibility of conflict, the Southern felt that the crisis had been forced on the Southern states and concluded, "in such a contest we may confidently believe that the impenetrable shield of Divine protection will be held over the cause of right and justice." 9

Some churchmen noted the shots fired in January to prevent the


9 J. Anderson (no place) to "My Dear Son," January 24, 1861, MSS, Anderson-Thornwell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; SP, January 12, 1861.
reinforcement of the Union garrison in Fort Sumter as a victory for the South — "the first battle of the Revolution." Yet, some considered the events with a touch of sadness. A few elders and deacons were hesitant on the entire subject of quitting the old Union, but few, if any, Presbyterian ministers in South Carolina actively sought to prevent secession.  

Only Thomas Smyth recorded any real hesitancy about leaving the nation where many of his colleagues lived. In numerous letters from these colleagues, he learned that they were not united in their attitudes about the South. He did believe in what he labelled "The Divine Right of Secession," and defended this right with his sermons and his pen. He had not found it easy to work for secession, however, and even confided to a friend, "I am still a mourner at the grave of our common country." 

Across the Savannah River, Georgians were much less unanimous in their sentiments than were the neighboring South Carolinians. As late as 1856, many people felt the state should never leave the Union. The election of Lincoln, though, caused many throughout the state to change their opinions. Thomas Cobb was a leader of the secessionists and since he had a sound reputation within the church, his statements carried much weight among Presbyterians. Speaking for himself and those who followed him, he resolutely stated, "We feel that utter ruin politically — Socially and spiritually is our fate in the Union — Hence our firm

10 R. Y. Russel, "Book of Labors in the Ministry, 1861-1866," January 20, 1861, MSS, Russel Papers; Thornwell Jacobs (ed.), Diary of William Plumer Jacobs (Oglethorpe University, Ga., 1937), 73-74 (January 6, 1861); "One of the Presbyterians" (Sumter District, S. C.) to Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, January 29, 1861, MSS, Breckinridge Papers; Dudley Jones, History of Purity Presbyterian Church of Chester, South Carolina, 1787-1937 (Charlotte, 1938), 37.

Resolve to separate at once."\textsuperscript{12}

If Georgia was to follow South Carolina's lead, Cobb and his friends had to convince the wavering souls of the need for immediate action. Hence, many sermons on contemporary events were delivered in the weeks following Lincoln's victory. Perhaps R. K. Porter attracted the most attention with his remarks on December 9 at Waynesboro on "Christian Duty in the Present Crisis." Like countless Southern ministers before him, he defended involuntary servitude of the Negro as a divinely ordained institution and asserted that every citizen, especially the Christian, must lend his efforts to the struggle underway. None could idly wait and passively watch. The battle was of the greatest significance, for it involved "the tremendous question of giving up or maintaining the great principles of eternal justice, righteousness and truth."\textsuperscript{13}

Since slavery was so often at the heart of the arguments over states' right and secession, two Georgians addressed themselves directly to the question of the Christian's relation to slavery. First to do this was Joseph R. Wilson, speaking at the church in Augusta. With his young son Woodrow, the future president, listening dutifully, Wilson entitled his sermon, "Mutual Relation of Masters and Slaves as Taught in the Bible." He concluded both Old and New Testaments endorsed slavery and commended it. He discussed, also, the similarity between the ancient

\textsuperscript{12} Thomas R. R. Cobb (Athens, Ga.) to J. C. Stiles, December 11, 1860, MSS, Stiles Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{13} Rufus K. Porter, Christian Duty in the Present Crisis: The Substance of a Sermon delivered in the Presbyterian Church, Waynesboro, Georgia, December 9, 1860 (Savannah, 1860); Savannah Morning News, January 19, 1861.
Pharisees and Essenes, and the modern abolitionists. As for the servant, the simple injunction was "obedience." For the master, the burden of the entire institution was on his shoulders. The evils of slavery, according to Wilson, came with the masters' shirking their duties. The men who owned the slaves must make the institution conform to the Biblical pattern and thus merit the favor of God.14

Charles Colcock Jones, the veteran missionary to the Negroes in Liberty County, also spoke out in behalf of the Southern attitude of slavery. He based his theories on three decades of evangelical ministry to the servants and no Southerner, layman or clergy, was more qualified to speak on the subject. Admitting that improvements were needed, Jones pointed to scriptural indications of a divine plan for slavery, a plan which he believed the South had attempted to follow. In his gentle but unyielding manner, this highly-respected "Apostle to the Slaves" struck back at Northern critics and enemies of the South in general. But in spite of his ardent belief that Georgia must secede in order to secure her political rights and protect slavery, he realized the seriousness of the times and would not allow his wife to celebrate South Carolina's secession.15

Though a few feared the results of continued agitation, men such as Cobb worked without ceasing to take Georgia along the path South Carolina had blazed. As the tide turned unmistakably toward disunion, few unionists spoke out within the church. At Oglethorpe, when the

14 Joseph R. Wilson, Mutual Relation of Masters and Slaves as Taught in the Bible . . . . (Augusta, 1861).
15 SE, February 16, 1861; NCP, February 23, 1861; Jones and Mallard, One Month's Experience, 17-24.
Thalian Society sought to debate the question, "Has any Government or Union of States the right of coercing a seceding member?" no student would defend the negative view. 16

The situation in Florida was similar to that in Georgia. The decision for secession did not come with either ease or unanimity. Some regretted breaking the nation apart, but eventually, the majority decided to cast their lot with the South as an independent section. 17

Men in the Gulf South had watched the events in South Carolina in both amazement and admiration. Friends of the Union were shocked at the ease with which the Carolinians could shake off the old national ties; advocates of Southern nationalism hoped to put the same plan to work in their area. Some nationalists needed help. In Louisiana, for instance, the advocates of secession had run into much hesitation. In order to give their cause more appeal, and especially to reach the ears of the conservatives, Ben Palmer was drawn into the program to take Louisiana out of the Union. This short man had South Carolina blood in his veins and fire in his eyes. His affection for the Low Country which had nurtured him was intense. He and Thornwell were close friends and since Palmer's leaving Columbia in 1856 to accept the New Orleans pastorate, he and the incomparable South Carolina minister had often exchanged views concerning


17 "Diary of John M. W. Davidson, First Clerk Session, Quincy, Florida," January 3, 1861, typescript, Montreat; John S. Wilson, Necrology: The Dead of the Synod of Georgia (Atlanta, 1869), 365-366.
the national scene. Palmer decided to unleash the ardor of his oratory on the political issue in a Thanksgiving sermon, as did some other pastors in the area. Their sermons received praise, but Palmer's words captured the city by storm.18

Thanksgiving day was a bright and sunny day in New Orleans. When the audience gathered — expectant of something more important than the usual holiday oration — the large sanctuary of the First Church, opposite Lafayette Square, was filled to capacity. As the eleven o'clock service began, Palmer quickly indicated his mood with a portion of his text — a phrase from Obadiah — "the men that were at peace with thee have deceived thee." He began by defending his right, even his duty, to discuss the political issues from the pulpit. One of the main themes of this address — written in full, instead of his usual brief outline — was to emphasize belief in slavery as a trust from God. Citizens of the South, he said, had the duty to "conserve and to perpetuate the institution of domestic slavery as now existing." But even more important, the issue was to "defend the cause of God and religion." In his opinion, Lincoln was "nearly as impotent for good as he is competent for evil," but even the president-elect was not the arch-fiend. This title Palmer reserved for the Republican Party, a group portrayed as intent on the ruin of the South. "With the destiny of a great people waiting upon the decision of an hour," Palmer proclaimed, "it is not lawful to be still." Nearing the end of his exhortation, the stocky little minister warned of the battle to come, admonished all to prepare for it, and then closed with the

18 TMS, December 8-15, 1860.
plea, "May the Lord God cover her "The South" head in this her day of battle." 19

For almost two hours the skill and vigor of this orator played on the emotions of the eager audience. When he concluded, the congregation walked out silently, so awesome had been the force of the sermon. Palmer had "carried the mass of his hearers captive." The silence of the crowd soon became a noise and quickly, in the words of an observer, "New Orleans was shouting for secession." Immediately, the congregation voted to print 30,000 copies of the sermon for distribution throughout the nation. The minister had carried the day; he had turned the tide within the city for secession. The New Orleans papers discussed the import of the message at length and most of them published the sermon in its entirety, as did church papers. Reprints soon appeared all over the nation. 20

While Palmer attempted to shove Louisiana behind South Carolina, other Presbyterians in the state were not sure of the wisdom of his

19 Benjamin M. Palmer, The South: Her Peril and Her Duty. A Discourse Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, New Orleans, on Thursday, November 22, 1860 (New Orleans, 1860). Daniel Fisher, Unionist minister at the Thalia Street Church in New Orleans, later charged that on the night before Thanksgiving he was in the business section and learned that the True Delta, a secessionist daily already had Palmer's sermon set in type. (Fisher, A Human Life, 121-122).

direction. The True Witness remained undecided until the beginning of
the new year, stating: "we are neutral. We design to be so, and are
gratified that our friends are unable to tell by our paper which side we
are on." McInnis and a few others hoped for some settlement that would
prevent conflict. In Baton Rouge, for instance, the minister believed
his Thanksgiving sermon, which championed unionism had persuaded his
congregation to remain loyal to the United States. The next morning,
however, copies of Palmer's sermon arrived from New Orleans, and the
people changed their minds. By February most men considered the state
safely united in support of the new Confederacy, propelled at least
partially by the force of Palmer's words. Even the True Witness offered
nothing but commendation for the new government forming at Montgomery,
Alabama. It now described only "Black Republicans" and discussed what
it considered the "muddy, broken, involved, and contradictory" nature
of Lincoln's inaugural address. 21

Beyond Louisiana, on the edge of the plains, Texas Presbyterians
were generally prepared to join the Confederacy. They were not ready to
lead such a move, but would fall in line after only brief delay. Few
leaders of the denomination in the state spoke out on the political
issues. Since the number of Presbyterians in Texas was small, they
spent most of their time clamoring for more ministers to come and serve
the congregations which needed ministerial direction so badly. Only
three churches failed to support secession — Austin, Georgetown, and
the German Presbyterian at Galveston. At the state capital, William M.

21 TWS, January 12, February 16, March 9, 1861; "Autobiography of
Thaddeus McRae," 35, typescript, Montreat; J. H. Harrison (New Orleans)
to Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, December 29, 1860, MSS, Breckinridge Papers;
Fisher, A Human Life, 125-130.
Baker, son of the great missionary evangelist Daniel Baker, was an influential spokesman for the Union, but he was unable to do more than talk about keeping the state from following her Southern neighbors. Sincerely and fervently he sought to obstruct any break away from the Federal Government. His efforts did persuade a few members of his congregation to agree with him, but this only created a storm of personal protest against him.

Baker was almost a lone figure among the church fathers of his area. He had few spokesmen in the church to reinforce his actions in the area beyond the Mississippi. East of the river, however, there were numerous Unionists, usually concentrated along the river or in the mountain districts. Northern Mississippi in particular, contained many men who hoped to cling to the Union. Some were bound by commercial ties with the towns upriver, but others just could not bring themselves to leave the united nation. The most widely-known churchman in Mississippi who attempted to prevent secession was James A. Lyon, the caustic-voiced minister at Columbus, who had previously condemned "this flippant ribaldry about severing the Union!" With no restraint in his words, Lyon now vigorously attacked the disunionists in his section. On the fast day of January 4, he preached a sermon in which he implored the people not to throw away one of the nation's great strengths, "a great and inestimable unity." When the state did leave the Union, he arranged for his friend McInnis to publish

22 CP, February 23, 1861; NCP, January 5, 1861; William A. McLeod, Story of the First Southern Presbyterian Church (Austin, 1839), 35-36; William A. McLeod, "'Planting Presbyterianism in Texas.' An Historical Address . . . . " 22, typescript, Montreat.

23 Lyon, Christianity and Civil Law, 29.
the sermon in the Witness and Lyon felt that his remarks were preparing the way for national reunion. At the same time, his son, Theodoric, worked to oppose secession and even dared to publish an address endorsing the Union when it was extremely dangerous to do so. Lyon was not, however, without other assistants in northern Mississippi in his campaign to prevent disunion. At least two ministers were driven from the area because of their Northern leanings, while those who remained, including Lyon and his son, often suffered from their refusal to cease their opposition to dividing the nation.24

Although the Presbyterians apparently produced most of the Unionist clergymen in the state and in spite of the work of such men as Lyon, Mississippi's secession movement was assisted by a number of preachers. Calling on their congregations to rally to the cause and exhorting the faithful to move into action, ministers exerted a powerful force which carried the state toward Montgomery and the Confederate government.25

Alabama, Mississippi's sister state, had many citizens who felt great reluctance about leaving the United States. Here, however, Presbyterians were often swayed by the words of their fellow member, William Lowndes Yancey, just as Georgians had listened more closely when Thomas

24 WMS, January 26, 1861; "Journal of Reverend James A. Lyon, Columbus, Mississippi, 1861-1870," 56 (January 4, 1861), typescript, Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi; Nashville Republican Banner, January 19, 1861; Aughey, Iron Furnace, 1-39; John K. Aughey, Tupelo Lincoln, Nebr., 1888), 69-72; Feemster, Travelling Refugee, 93-96; CO, February 7, 1861.

R. R. Cobb spoke on items of public interest. Yancey, a member of Montgomery's First Church, had long been an out-spoken "fire-eater" who sought to form a new nation outside the old Union. His advocacy of such a cause lent much prestige to the argument among Presbyterians. 26

Many church members in Alabama decided to support secession after long study and personal deliberation. They had come to hate abolition and to fear its possible results. Eventually, they agreed "the South see[s] that the spirit of hostility to her interests and peace has gained the mastery over the conservatism at the North." With prayers for God's guidance, these people sought to preserve their way of life from any change from without. The difficulties involved in such a choice were revealed by one observer who described himself as a "straightout Secessionist" and then agreed that he had been forced to make an unpleasant decision. 27

The choice facing Tennesseans was even more difficult. With the state tied in the east to the mountains and in the west to the river, Tennessee had seldom been completely united on any major question. Both sections had some sentiment for each camp in the political crisis and the rival proponents were so evenly balanced that the state postponed the final decision for many weeks. In the western section, before the end of 1860, many ministers apparently yearned for some solution other than dividing the nation. When one minister preached on the crisis before

---

26 Yancey's family pew is still cherished in the Montgomery Church, First Church, Montgomery, Ala., 4.

his people, he heard weeping and sobbing in the congregation. Leader of the minority in the Memphis area seeking to keep Tennessee in the Union was R. C. Grundy, minister at the Second Church. Soon after the election of Lincoln, he began to speak out in advocacy of Unionism. Later, in a public letter to the Memphis Bulletin, he announced that "in the pulpit or out of it, I will speak and work for my country when God burthens my heart and conscience to do it." In spite of his belief in slavery, he saw neither justification nor wisdom in South Carolina's action, or in the actions of such clergymen as Palmer and Thornwell. For weeks he kept up his verbal barrage for the Union and only slightly subsided when Tennessee voted to join the Confederacy. 28

East Tennessee, always reluctant to follow the rest of the state, was strongly tied to the Union. Each community was often divided in sentiment. When Presbyterian ministers in Knoxville advocated joining the Confederacy and rural churches usually leaned in the opposite direction, there was no clear path for any churchman. These were days and nights which required courage, for men realized that often their opinions, if publicly expressed, would bring on "a band of ten sons of Felial who threaten tar and feathers." 29

East of the mountains, North Carolina waited in amazed hesitation.

28 Diary for December, 1860, in Davis F. Eagleton, A Memorial Sketch of Rev. George Ewing Eagleton: The Record of a Busy Life (Richmond, 1900?), 36; Memorial Volume of Columbia Seminary, 241; Letter in TMS, December 29, 1860, March 23, 1861; Dwight (no place) to "Dear Sister," March 29, 1861, MSS, Anderson-Thornwell Papers; SP, April 20, 1861.

Tarheels had witnessed the actions of their sister state to the south and hoped that some miracle would avert possible violence. Soon, even they decided that the Old North State must take a stand. Few persons in the church expressed any extreme opinions until after the new year began. Almost as if holding their breaths, these people waited — and prayed for miracles.

In November, the North Carolina Presbyterian sadly considered the idea of breaking up the nation and stated its belief that a "very large majority" in the state still opposed secession but they would also resist any coercion of states that might secede. At the same time the editor advised economic and social independence of the North. Meanwhile, such a leader as Calvin H. Wiley, state superintendent of schools, called for moderation and a scattered few agreed with him. By February, D. H. Hill, soldier and churchman, was vigorously defending South Carolina and all who had joined her. Soon, the North Carolina Presbyterian began to offer similar opinions.\(^{30}\) Men who earlier sought a peaceful solution to the crisis now expected separation.

Not until March and April did Tarheels force themselves to make a final choice of their course of action. Even those who advocated secession did so with reservations, for they realized the possible consequences for their decisions. Gradually, all who did not concur with the majority changed their minds or found it wise to remain silent. The minority who loved the nation more than the section wisely guarded their thoughts. As Fort Sumter surrendered to Confederate forces and Lincoln called for volunteers, church fathers in the state decided to go along with the rest

\(^{30}\) NCP, November 24, December 15, 1860, February 2, 16, 1861; J. H. Smith Diary, February 7, 1861.
of the South. The North Carolina Presbyterian now threw the full weight of its prestige and power behind secession and described what it termed "a Sublime Spectacle of a whole people united in the same sacred cause." Ministers defended this cause, asserting the Lord would lend His favor, and they now spoke of "the villainy of Abraham Lincoln." Slowly, but surely, churchmen had found it in their hearts and consciences to do what they had once thought they could not do. They had broken with the past and joined the emigration into the unknown.

Important as the other states of the South might be, both politicians and men of God watched events in Virginia more closely than happenings in any other Slave State. The Old Dominion was pivotal of the cause of Southern nationalism. In the same manner as this state had performed such an important role in forming the United States, so also had she been a source of much of the vigor and strength of the Presbyterian Church in the South. With a love for their native state which defied all explanations except those emphasizing the spiritual, Virginians looked first to the safety of their native soil. They loved the Tidewater and the Piedmont and were not willing to sacrifice either to any sort of extremist.

Even after the election of Lincoln, churchmen within the state remained patiently vigilant. Dabney had set the tone with his remarks on "The Christian's Best Motive for Patriotism." The Central Presbyterian agreed with his moderate sentiments and pointed out the necessity for Union recognition of Virginia's rights. The paper was not willing to declare that church leaders across the state were prepared for secession, but by the end of the year, it seldom referred to the United States with fondness and often found "enemies" in the North, such as Henry Ward Beecher, whom it described as a "strong ass."  

In the declining love of the Union, the Central was ahead of the attitudes of a number of important Virginia Presbyterians. On Thanksgiving Day, Boyd had preached at Winchester on the dangers of dissension and emphasized the "benefits we enjoy as a Nation." On the same day, I. W. K. Hardy appealed for "Political Moderation" as he addressed his congregation in Portsmouth. At the Third Church in Richmond, Arthur Mitchell defended the South and slavery, but he also emphasized the need for moderation and continued loyalty to the Union.  

All over the state, men of faith recorded their fears of the eminence of danger and possible violence. They turned more often to the Lord, for they realized that man had not settled the issues. Dabney followed his usual course of action -- a vigorous attempt to inflict his own opinions on all those around him. In a long letter to Presbyterians in North Carolina, he asked them to join in efforts to save the country.

---

32 CP, November 17 - December 8, 1861.

33 CO, January 3-10, 1861; Arthur Mitchell, A Word of Scripture to North and South. A Sermon Delivered at the Third Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Virginia, on Sunday, December 30th, 1860 (Richmond, 1861).
"from the horrors of political convulsion." He was equally angered and saddened by the radical statements from both North and South. As much as he realized his sectional bias, he could find few commendable results of South Carolina's actions. In fact, he had grown angry over the work of the disunionists in that state. In a fit of passion, Dabney exploded: "As for South Carolina, the little impudent vixen has gone beyond all patience. She is as great a pest as the Abolitionists. And if I could have my way, they might whip her to their heart's content."34

Dabney asked Moses Hoge to aid in calming the fires of anger. Hoge's sentiments were very similar to those of Dabney at this time — both feared Lincoln but disliked the extreme actions of the Southern "fire-eaters" almost as much. Together they worked to save their state from conflict. Led by Dabney, "A Pacific Appeal to Christians" circulated among the leading clergy and laity of all faiths in Virginia and then appeared in most of the religious papers of the South, addressed to men in all sections in a fervent effort to enlist aid in preserving a united nation. The attacked signatures included most of the outstanding Protestants in Virginia who signified their agreement to "study moderation of political sentiment, of resentments and of language."35

The "Appeal" corresponded to the beliefs of many Presbyterians in the Old Dominion who hoped to end the verbal battles. With no more than normal foresight, they realized the dangerous position of Virginia if the Federal Government should attempt coercion of the seceded states


further South. Also, these men sincerely did not want to leave the Union. They prayed more than usual, imploring the Almighty to pacify the angry men in the nation and hoping to escape the horrors of dividing the nation they loved. If the nation did divide, these Virginians wanted to be able to demonstrate they had done all possible to prevent the break. Sermons emphasized the horrors of the war that would probably follow any formal organization of an independent nation in the South.  

While the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States met in Montgomery and Virginia elected delegates to a convention to consider the question of secession, church fathers still pondered their course of action. The pleas for God's aid were more frequent, as letters to the Central Presbyterian reflected a slight shift toward secessionism, although sentiment was still divided. Few had any hope for success in the Peace Convention called by Virginia. Still, they wanted to try every possible solution, for as one elder phrased it, "I want to see all proper means and appliances exhausted in order to bring about a good understanding, before we have any separation — to part with the 'Stars and Stripes' would be a sad and mournful alternative."  

The inauguration of Lincoln marked the end of a period of hesitation for many Presbyterians throughout the state. They had waited to


37 McFarland Diary, February 4, 1861; A. G. Millwaine (Petersburg, Va.) to Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, February 18, 1861, MSS, Breckinridge Papers.
hear what this supposedly abolitionist-minded man would have to say.
When they read his inaugural address, they found little to please them.
Their attitudes ranged from grave apprehension over his plans to plain
anger. Dabney, who had received many letters from both sections of the
nation commending his moderation, now signed a circular letter advising
the voters in his county of Prince Edward that they "should immediately
detach the State from the Union." 38

Before Virginians recovered from their dislike of the new Union
president's message, they read of the Confederacy's preparations for
possible conflict. Charleston seemed to be a particularly important
point to many Virginians. They noted the strengthening of shore
batteries and read of the arguments between the Confederate and Union
authorities over the possession of Fort Sumter at the entrance to
Charleston harbor. When the Southern batteries fired on the fort on
April 12, the reverberations of the attack reached all the way to the
Old Dominion. Three days later, Lincoln called for volunteers to put
down rebellion and in so doing, forced the hand of the Border States.
As a result, the Virginia Convention voted to leave the Union on April
17, an action later endorsed by a majority of the citizenry of the state.

Men who once had been moderate and conciliatory in their opinions,
now were behind the move without reservation. Lincoln forced them to
decide; they must fight against either the Union or Virginia. For a man
who had grown up hearing tales of Washington and Jefferson, the choice
was clear. The "Union had gone beyond all patience and hope. Virginia

38 "Foote Journal," March 4, 1861; McFarland Diary, March 3, 1861; 22,
March 9, 1861; Johnson, Dabney, 218-221; Richmond Enquirer (semi-weekly),
March 9, 1861.
could expect nothing but despotism and erosion of her rights if she remained within the nation she had helped to found. Only by disunion did the citizens believe their rights and privileges would be preserved. Some individuals were shocked at how quickly their own sentiments changed. They noted how swiftly they realized the danger to all they held dear and they also looked back in sorrow at the break in the Union. They did not want any conflict or bloodshed. Rather they prayed for peaceful cooperation between the two separate nations. If all worked out for the best, perhaps a future reunion might come about. 39

Support for the Confederacy was by no means unanimous in troubled Virginia. In some cases, clergymen continued to insist on remaining with the United States, but in doing so publicly brought the wrath of their neighbors down upon them. At Washington College in Lexington, a school with strong Presbyterian leanings but no official connection with the church, the president and a number of local residents persisted in supporting the Union. 40 All over Virginia, there remained those who saw only folly in joining the fate of the Old Dominion with that of the Cotton States. Some emphasized the fact that the new Confederacy would have to fight for its life while others noted grimly that the conflict,


40 White, Presbyterian Leaders, 340; Stanton, Church and the Rebellion, 202.
if it came, would be fought on Virginia soil.

Dabney's actions typified the change of opinion among Presbyterian leaders in the state. In the same manner in which he had worked tirelessly for moderation, he now sought to encourage secession. For years, his colleagues had given him credit for a "perfect passion for disputing, not only with somebody, but with everybody." Now he prepared to battle the entire North, if necessary. He wrote to a theological colleague in New York, explaining the actions of the South in general and of Virginia in particular. Writing during a meeting of West Hanover Presbytery, Dabney insisted that "the farthest endurance had been passed." The South had not brought on the struggle, but had tried to save the nation. Now the situation had become hopeless and the seceded states had formed a new nation in order to save liberty and religion. "We invite you, and all true men, to come to this sunny land, and help us here to construct and defend another temple, where constitutional liberty may abide secure and unshriven. For you, we have open arms and warm hearts; for our enemies, resistance to the death."41

Dabney sought to explain the actions of his state and his section in terms churchmen could appreciate. He and those who agreed with him were particularly eager to win the support of the countless citizens who might still give their loyalty to the Confederacy. Virginians were particularly concerned about their neighbors across the mountains in Kentucky. A strong affinity of blood and custom had always existed between the two states. In Kentucky, the Presbyterians were the fourth denomination in

41 Dabney, "Autobiography," 71-72; Robert L. Dabney, Letter... to the Rev. S. F. Prime, D. D., one of the Editors of the New York Observer... (Richmond, 1861).
numbers, but were very powerful in their social and political strength. Perhaps the most influential man in the state was Robert J. Breckinridge, minister, planter, editor, ex-legislator, professor at Danville Theological Seminary, and head of a family which had played a significant role in the nation. Delighting in verbal combat, he often entered political battles. As for slavery, he favored gradual emancipation but bitterly opposed the Abolitionists. His nephew, John C. Breckinridge, vice-president under James Buchanan, had been the candidate of the Southern Democrats against Lincoln, but the clergyman had never been prone to allow anyone to determine his course of action for him.

If any one man could determine the reaction of any state in this winter of crisis, this man could in Kentucky. On Thanksgiving Day, 1860, he began his vigorous efforts for Union with a sermon which attracted much publicity and followed this with a message on the National Fast Day, January 4, containing special emphasis on the necessity of loyalty in the Border States. Declining a request to go to Richmond to help prevent Virginia's secession in order to concentrate his efforts at home, he soon completed a pamphlet, Our Country: Its Peril, and its Deliverance, which described slavery as the heart of the problem and argued that secession had no legal basis in any circumstances.42

His argument against the secessionists was bitter and cutting. It particularly incensed the minister at the influential Second Church of Louisville, Stuart Robinson, a brilliant theologian and pastor. His

conservatism might have made him an ally of Breckinridge, but as an ardent secessionist, Robinson spoke out when he realized the intent of Breckinridge's article.

Two other Old School pastors in Louisville agreed with Robinson's sectional sympathies. Thomas A. Hoyt, a native South Carolinian, had used the Fast Day as an opportunity to explain that the South was merely defending her rights and "God gave us these rights." He insisted that the Border States must not allow the North to use force against those states which had withdrawn from the Union. In April, 1861, John H. Rice, a Virginian of distinguished Presbyterian ancestry, summarized all of the pro-secession statements in an article in the Southern Presbyterian Review. The article, provoked by attacks from Northern churchmen, declared that secession was not only possible but justified because of the intentions of the Republicans, a group which would "for ever exclude the Southern people from all participation in the government of the country." Slavery was of no political nor religious concern and no party should tamper with its basis. As for the South, it would, if necessary, fight to preserve all her rights.43

Kentucky divided her loyalty and even Breckinridge's sons prepared to join rival armies. Presbyterians were almost equally divided politically. Many families had relatives in Virginia and the Carolinas and therefore were inclined to align with the Confederacy. Others, however, because of a dislike of severing the Union or due to economic ties with the North,

saw nothing but folly in the Confederate cause. Publications of the church leaders increased the bitterness on both a religious and personal basis. Congregations split and pastors faced elders in their sessions who so strongly disagreed with them that little work could be done for the Lord. Gradually, Breckinridge guided his group to victory both within the church and in the political realm as well. He had his own personal prestige to reinforce his words — but more important, he also had the support of Union bayonets. Pro-Confederate Presbyterians continued to express their opinions in spite of increasing pressure, but despair crept into their prayers.

The far-reaching influence of Breckinridge extended across the Mississippi into Missouri. There too, Presbyterians were among the leaders, particularly in the area around St. Louis. Here, as in Kentucky, Presbyterians were divided in their loyalties. Churchmen who backed the Confederacy had even fewer supporters in Missouri than in Kentucky. A few ministers did proclaim their Southern leanings and were repaid in criticism, verbal thrashing, sometimes even in threats of violence. Among churchmen, most ministers and elders either remained true to the Union or at least concealed their sentiments. Breckinridge's writings circulated widely, furthering the work of those who would stay with the United States. By July, Presbyterian friends of the Union felt

safe in assuming that secession had failed in Missouri.\footnote{45}

Few Presbyterians in the remaining areas of the Federal Union vocally endorsed the cause of secession. Other than a few men like John Bocock, who quickly resigned his pastorate at Georgetown, District of Columbia, and came South, Old School leaders preferred to acquiesce in the decision of the majority. In the North, a few ministers did try to halt any possible secession activity among the Presbyterian clergy. A "Circular Letter to the Clergy and Laity of Christian Churches in the Southern States of the Union," signed by men from various denominations and dated January 1, admitted the guilt of both sections and called on all ministers to lead the way to peace and harmony. Henry J. Van Dyke, minister at the First Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn and outspoken friend of the South, had addressed his congregation in December on "The Character and Influence of Abolition" and delighted all men in the South who sought justification for the action of the seceded states.\footnote{46} But love of the Union had a firm hold on the hearts and minds of Presbyterians in the North and their overwhelming sentiment was to draw ever closer to the Federal Government.

One friend Southerners did find in the North was their former colleague, Amasa Converse and his \textit{Christian Observer}. Although his paper emanated from Philadelphia, Converse was still fond of the states south

\footnote{45}{See letters from Missouri during first two-thirds of 1861 in Preckinridge Papers; \textit{W. W. Leftwich, Martyrdom in Missouri, A History of Religious Proscription} (St. Louis, 1870), I, 143-157.}

\footnote{46}{Prayer of John H. Bocock, February 3, 1861, MSS, James Lawson Kemper Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia; Ella Thomas Journals, III, 45 (December 13, 1861); \textit{Es}, March 16, 1861; Vander Velde, \textit{Presbyterian Churches}, 21-105. The first Presbyterian listed on the "Circular" was Gardiner Spring.}
of the Potomac. As South Carolina prepared to leave the Union, the Observer asked the North to leave slavery untouched. An editorial strongly endorsed unionism, but at the same time hoped that the Federal Government "will have the magnanimity to repeal every act which bears on its face a hostile or unfriendly aspect toward the institutions of the South."

Many Southern subscribers wrote to Converse. A few stated their preference for Union but the vast majority showed a leaning for separation and in turn, the Observer gradually demonstrated a fondness for the new Confederacy and definitely opposed coercion of the seceded states.47 As the states of the South continued to leave the old Union and to form a new one, the Observer carefully inferred its sympathy with their action. To take such a stand in Philadelphia required both courage and strength.

The whole argument had taken courage, in both North and South. Men had debated, prayed, questioned, and waited. They had used every means at their disposal to defend their actions and their reasoning. As they paused to reflect on a few months of vigorous activity by politicians and churchmen, a few men evaluated the role of the Presbyterians in this crisis. Not many observers agreed with the editor of the Central Presbyterian who saw "blame on both sides, and enough wicked passion to sink both North and South to perdition."48 Almost unanimously, when they looked back on secession, the ministers and elders in the South believed they had achieved a victory for honor, for freedom, and for Zion.

47 CC, December 6-13, 1860, January 31, 1861.
Church leaders in the South thought Lincoln's actions a sound justification for their decision. Weeks earlier they had worked for peace, but when the Republican President called for volunteers to march across the Potomac, these men could no longer remain quiet. Such a formerly moderate man as Moses Hoge wrote to his sister, "With my whole mind and heart I go into the secession movement." Others who had never previously spoken on political questions, raised their voices in favor of taking their state out of the Union. 49

Even after the states departed the old nation, Presbyterian papers and preachers in the South continued to speak on the righteousness and justice of secession. With unrelenting editorial pressure, the church papers from the South encouraged communicants to support the politicians. These papers were almost entirely devoid of any opposition to disunion — so little that readers received the impression of a unanimously-favored accomplishment. This helped to convince these readers of the righteousness of their position. The sick, bed-ridden Thornwell, to whom so many looked for guidance, still carried on the battle to lead his people into a righteous land. He now believed that no peaceful union was possible between the sections. Therefore, the only solution was peaceful separation — which every Christian should strive to bring about. 50

Palmer had continued to aid the friends of the Confederacy. His most outspoken attempt was a counterattack against Breckinridge from

49 John Miller Wells, Southern Presbyterian Worthies (Richmond, 1836), 113; Flourney, Smith, 75; McFarland Diary, May 23, 1861; Diary, April 23, 1861, in Eagleton, George Eagleton, 36-37.

50 TLS, April 27, 1861; CP, May 12, 1861; SP, May 18, 1861; NCP, May 4, 1861.
Kentucky in which he defended secession, saying "it has sounded the knell of despotism on this continent, and rendered possible the hope of transmitting the principles of republican government, which our patriot fathers toiled and bled to achieve." As for slavery, Palmer now held it to be incidental to secession; the real grievance was the attempt of the North, and the Republicans in particular, to govern the nation at the expense of the South. In the future, he believed historians would look back on the actions of the winter of 1860-1861 "as the movement which rescued the whole country just as it was slipping into an empire. . . . History has nowhere upon her records a more sublime example of moral heroism." 51

In the political sphere, Thomas R. R. Cobb labored to make the accomplishments of the seceded states worthy of the favor of the Lord — favor which religious folk sought so eagerly. In the Confederate Congress sessions at Montgomery, he introduced resolutions calling for a day of fasting. "If the cause be righteous and the quarrel just, we may confidently rely on Him who reigneth." As for the fighting that might break out, he said, "the issue is with God." 52

Few contemporaries paused to gauge the amount of credit or blame Presbyterians deserved for their portion of the secession arguments. These were weeks of feverish activity and no man had time to separate the past from the future. Changes fused together so quickly — who could decide when one phase was finished? No observer asserted that

such a numerically limited group as the Presbyterians of the South caused secession. Many did, however, assign important roles to Old School members. Cobb said "this revolution has been accomplished MAINLY BY THE CHURCHES," and James A. Lyon accused his fellow clergy of "letting down and prostituting the pulpit," but both were careful to agree that other religious bodies had reacted similarly to Presbyterians. After previously avoiding political questions, Old School leaders had sided with the politicians. Because of their skill in the pulpit, their newspapers, and their public prestige, they were able to control much public sentiment, or at least to guide it. When they spoke for the first time on candidates and sectional issues, most Southerners paused and listened. When these religious spokesmen agreed in encouraging their neighbors to follow the secessionist politicians, they gave pulpit reinforcement to these stump orators.

Northern critics assigned most of the blame for the Presbyterian portion of the arguments to Palmer, Thornwell, and Thomas Smyth. One believed Palmer's preaching was worth more than 10,000 soldiers to the Confederacy. The New Orleans pastor's Thanksgiving sermon had been the most widely-circulated tract of the entire winter's ordeal. Thornwell and Smyth were held responsible for originating much of the trouble.

Since South Carolina had been the first state to leave the Union, enemies

53 SP, April 20, 1861; "Journal of Lyon," 9 (June 13, 1861).

of the Confederacy reserved particular scorn for them.

Southern Presbyterians had no time to rest on whatever laurels they deserved for helping secession. The Old School General Assembly was slated to convene and they must decide what they would do in relation to that meeting. Would they continue to assert the complete independence of their states and therefore the separation of the southern portion of the Assembly, or would they demonstrate the unity of God's Kingdom — the binding strength of Zion?

Another disquieting factor was the threat of military action. Abraham Lincoln had demonstrated that he meant to bring the seceded states back to their places in the Union, by force if necessary. If he executed this threat, these ministers and communicants would either have to fight or desert the new nation they had helped to found. Like their grandfathers in the Revolution, they would have to fight to earn what they prophesied.

Pleas ascended to the Almighty in countless town and country union prayer meetings. All men and women asked that the new nation be worthy of the favor of God. When Joseph Bardwell of the First Presbyterian Church in Nashville, opened the Tennessee Legislature with prayer, he invoked the aid of God: "Thy favor is life and they frown is death . . . . Put Thy hook in the nose of him who deviseth mischief against us, and turn him back by the way he came."55 The legislators and all Presbyterians across the South agreed with him, for they knew "if God be for us, who can be against us?"

55 Charleston Evening News, May 10, 1861.
Chapter IV "The battle is the Lords"

The South and her Christian population was in danger. Union military strength was a threat to the Confederacy, but the excitement of war threatened religion, as communicants often neglected the needs of the church in serving their new nation. Ministers commented that "from many of our brethren we hear the sad tale that our political affairs are absorbing the zeal of our people. ... In their patriotism they are unmindful of 'that better land.'" This situation provoked deep concern, for victory over the Federals would be meaningless if Satan triumphed at home. Many careful communicants agreed with the men of South Alabama Presbytery who warned their churches: "In the present troubled condition of our Country, we have reason to be apprehensive that the cause of beloved Zion may suffer injury."¹

Presbyteries learned of reduced contributions in many congregations. Missionaries were unable to continue their work in the usual fashion due to a shortage of funds. Pastors had not been paid regularly in many places and the interest of the communicants was evidently absorbed by events in Montgomery and Washington.

During the secession crisis, men of God seldom paused to catch their breaths. Instead, they preached, prayed, and argued in defense of their political and religious beliefs. Again, the institution of slavery seemed to warrant defense. Once more, defenders were numerous and unanimous, but most statements were really repetitions of Thornwell's idea that Christianity uplifted the Negro and slavery would vanish as the world

¹ "Minutes of the Presbytery of Tuscaloosa, 1858-1867," 130 (April 6, 1861); "South Alabama Presbytery, 1858-1863," 217-220 (April 20, 1861).
achieved perfectability. Church papers repeated their unqualified support of slavery and its proponents. Ministers once more proclaimed the gospel of the "peculiar institution" from the pulpits of Dixie. Most spokesmen agreed that arguments over slavery figured strongly in causing disruption of the Union, as few pastors failed to defend Negro servitude or to assail Northern critics. Southern Presbyterians now chorused their agreement with the statement that slavery was a "natural right . . . by the direct and positive permission of the Sovereign Lord."²

Although slavery was vital, other more immediate demands were present. The Confederacy proclaimed her peaceful intentions and called on the citizens to demonstrate their loyalty. With volunteers in blue gathering in response to Lincoln's appeal, the political South might need all the strength the Southern Zion could offer. If the battle came, the decision would go to the swift and the sure, but the holy could lend much strength. Thomas R. R. Cobb kept the church well-represented in the sessions of the Confederate Congress. Cobb and many of his colleagues, were noticeably regular in attendance at religious services and the Georgia legislator ardently advocated measures to recognize the sanctity of the Sabbath.³

Dixie's Presbyterians praised the Confederacy with almost universal blessing. Church papers led the applause. Soon after the inauguration of President Jefferson Davis and Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens,


the religious press lauded both men. By April, the papers proclaimed their zealous support of the united South. The Central Presbyterian, with William Brown as editor, asserted the Southerners would fight "to the last of their blood and breath." At the same time the North Carolina Presbyterian called on all churchmen in Dixie to unite "for the sake of peace, humanity and religion, of our soil, our honor and our slaves."
The True Witness and Sentinel, now larger in circulation and size, became openly pro-Confederate, and the Southern Presbyterian had been since the secession of South Carolina. Even the Christian Observer demonstrated more Southern leanings. Just before the end of the year, the Observer had absorbed the Presbyterian Witness of Knoxville, Tennessee, and opened an office in Richmond in early January. From that time on the editorial policy was more pleasing to a Southern reader.4

The papers reflected the attitudes of churchmen, particularly the clergy, but ministers had little time to state their arguments before Lincoln called for volunteers to put down what he called an insurrection.

Then, on April 12, Confederate batteries opened fire on Fort Sumter at Charleston. Two days later, on the sabbath, the fort surrendered.

Southerners immediately blamed the conflict on Federal resistance to the constituted authority of South Carolina. The Southern Presbyterian described the Yankee efforts as "The Most Atrocious Wickedness of the Age" while churchmen gave thanks for the victory. In Florida Presbytery, news of the Sumter action "produced a profound sensation."

Clergymen counted the blessings of the victory — blessings which came from the Almighty. Presbyterians like Thomas Smyth's summary of

---

4 CP, April 20, 1861; NCP, February 23, April 20, 1861; TWS, March 31, 1861; SP, April 20, 1861; CO, January 3-10, 1861.
Sumter's "Mystery and Miracle — God's Mastery and Mercy," for he described the North as the instigator of the shooting. Smyth claimed the South must fight back against "the many-headed monster of the blind, heartless and unprincipled majority." Although religion and the Bible were at stake, the united South should realize that the surrender of the fort "was a signal gun from the battlements of heaven, announcing from God to every Southern State, 'This cause is mine.'" Less militant souls who disliked conflict and war could only cry out, "Spare this Land of Promise."\(^5\)

The expectation of battle attracted many Presbyterian men into the ranks where their brothers had already gone. Here they planned to fight for the Lord in defense of the world the ministers described for them. As they prepared to leave for the northern borders of the Confederacy, these young soldiers heard their religious leaders explain the cause for which they might die. Some clergymen emphasized the love of the native state, but most went beyond this and spoke of God's battle — the struggle to save Zion from the ungodly.\(^6\)

As the Light Guards prepared to depart from Rome, Georgia, John Jones spoke to them and pictured a crusade based on the statement: "For the battle is not yours, but God's." He appealed to the young men to take their Bibles with them and pray, but also to fight bravely for their homes and for the church. When they weared, he asked them to remember

\(^5\) _SP_, April 20, May 11, 1861; Russell, "Labors in the Ministry," 140 (April 28, 1861); Thomas Smyth, _The Battle of Fort Sumter; its Mystery and Miracle_ . . . . (Columbia, S. C., 1861); Diary of Mrs. Jane Evans Elliot, April 26, 1861, MSS, Montreat.

\(^6\) "Foote Journal," April 23, 1861; Doll Diary, April 24, 1861; Memphis _Daily Appeal_, March 28, 1861; "Minutes of Montgomery Presbytery, 1858-1868," 54 (April 27, 1861), typescript, Union Seminary.
"You are engaged in a holy war!"

When Ben Palmer spoke to the Crescent Rifles in New Orleans, he defended the propriety of war in certain circumstances. As for the present conflict, it was "an issue between religion and atheism." Two days after this speech, he addressed the Washington Artillery from the steps of City Hall. As he discussed the cause they were to defend, Palmer assured this proud unit and the five thousand people in the audience, history has upon her records none that is holier than this in which you have embarked . . . . a war of religion against a blind and bloody fanaticism." In an aside, he remarked how proud he was to stand before such a group of "gallant defenders of a holy cause." In Alabama and Tennessee, similar scenes occurred as ministers stressed the religious nature of the fight against the Federal Union. But the audiences were aware of the grave aspect of the times and ministers often noticed that "not a dry eye was to be seen, and the sobs of many a tender heart were audible." 7

Even if the cause was sacred and holy, parents and friends still mourned the departure of sons and brothers. Fathers commended young men to the care of the Lord. They begged sons to remain true to the faith. Men such as Thornwell, urged their sons to remember "any moment you may be summoned before God altogether unprepared." Many Southern sons wrestled with the problem of personal faith. Some feared that in strange

7 John Jones, The Southern Soldier's Duty . . . . (Rome, 1861); New Orleans Sunday Delta, June 2, 1861; New Orleans Picayune, May 28, 1861; W. H. Vernor, A Sermon, delivered before the Marshall Guards No. 1, on Sunday, May 5th, 1861. . . . (Lewisburg, Tenn., 1861); SP, April 20, 1861.
and pagan surroundings they would lose their certainty of God. 8

With so many men going into military service, the churches mobilized to serve the armies. Women began to sew and do any sort of work to aid their local units. Many congregations wrote regularly to their fellow members in camp. The greatest obstacle, however, seemed to be the absence of religious leadership in the field. To meet such a danger, these presbyteries which held their meetings after the call to the colors made arrangements to send a chaplain or missionary to the nearest place of need. Although other ministers had departed on their own, apparently the first Presbyterian body to commission a chaplain officially was the Presbytery of Florida which on April 13 appointed E. P. Crane to serve a Pensacola volunteer regiment. 9 Soon many other ministers followed his lead and began to preach to Zion's defenders.

College men rushed to join the army. These eager youths had heard the news of Sumter with great enthusiasm and soon forgot about their studies. While college communities had generally been conservative during the arguments over secession, they soon burstled with men learning to march and shoulder weapons. Davidson College was a typical example. During the winter the Philanthropic Society debated the merits of secession and compromise and the Eumaneans busied themselves with investigations of violations of campus morals. By the first week in May, the

---

8 Russell, "Labors in the Ministry," 140 (April 12, 1861); McFarland Diary, April 21, 1861; Rev. James H. Thornwell (Columbia, S. C.) to Tillespie Thornwell, June 10, 1861, MSS, Anderson-Thornwell Papers; Robert Mulholland (near Wilmington, N. C.) to Rev. R. Y. Russell, March 8, 1861, MSS, Russell Papers.

new president, John L. Kirkpatrick, announced that closing exercises could not be held, due to the departure of so many men from the junior and senior classes. At LaGrange College the same was true and the faculty was forced to grant the request of the thirteen members of the senior class that they be allowed to leave school a month early. At the early commencement, President John N. Waddel presented a pocket Bible along with each degree. By this time Waddel had become completely engrossed in the Confederate cause and enthusiastically endorsed the martial aims of his young scholars.

Oglethorpe students organized the "University Guards" when they heard the news of Sumter. After commencement on May 28, all of the graduates, most of the juniors joined the army, a professor chemistry and the new tutor, Sidney Lanier, joined the volunteers. At Austin College, where the war trumpets almost sounded the death knell of the institution, increasing debts and the enlistment of many students, persuaded the Board of Directors to suspend college exercises for a year. President Rufus Bailey resigned while continuing his vigorous attack on Northern enemies of the South's actions. Oakland College withstood so much war and secession talk that "even they now cease to make any commotion." The students at Stewart College formed a unit under the direction of one of their professors and waited until the Tennessee Governor called for troops. The president of Washington College, the

10 Shaw, Davidson College, 101; Godbold, Church College, 92; E. Merton Coulter, College Life in the Old South (New York, 1928), 237-238; "Minute Book of the Philanthropic Society of Davidson College, 1861-1869," February 22, 1861, April 12, 1861, MSS, Davidson College; "Record of the Eumenean Society, 1859-1865," January 19, 1861, MSS, Davidson College; "Davidson Faculty Minutes, 1842-1873," May 3, 1861, June ?, 1861; TWS, May 13-25, 1861.
Reverend George Junkin, his Unionism when Virginia's sentiments became clear, but as many of his own student body emulated their collegiate forefathers and formed the Liberty Hall Volunteers, he resigned and moved north. \textsuperscript{11}

The seminaries, a vital fountain for future clergymen if the Confederacy were to be religiously self-sufficient, also suffered from the hysteria of war. The Northern students had left Columbia at the beginning of the spring in the midst of martial excitement, but when the aged George Howe addressed the ten graduates, he omitted any mention of contemporary events and emphasized their duties and responsibilities instead. The seminarians at Union left on May 13. There were only four graduates -- ten candidates had withdrawn because of the events in the country. The seminary faculty and board noted how the year had been marred by student's preoccupation with political matters instead of spiritual affairs and questioned whether the withdrawal of men from ministerial studies might not be "grinding the seed corn." Not even the inaugural of Thomas E. Peck as Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Polity could eradicate the apprehension of the seminary faculty as they viewed the inroads martial enthusiasm had made on religion. \textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{11} Tankersley, Old Oglethorpe, 102-106; "Minutes of Austin College Trustees," 138-144 (June 28, 1861); Houston (Tex.) Weekly Telegraph, June 5, 1861; W. L. Baird (Oakland College, Miss.) to Rev. Samuel J. Baird, April 9, 1861, MSS, Samuel J. Baird Papers; Cooper, Southwestern, 26-27; \textit{SC}, May 23, 1861.

\textsuperscript{12} Memorial Volume of Columbia Seminary, 155; \textit{CP}, May 25, 1861; "Proceedings of Union Seminary Directors, 1860-1892," 55-85 (May 13-14, 1861); "Records of the Faculty of Union Theological Seminary, 1859-1892," 17 (May 13, 1861), MSS, Union Seminary; Minutes of the Synod of Virginia, 1848-1876 (Richmond, nd), 284 (October 13, 1861).
At Hampden-Sydney, the spirit to defend the soil of Virginia was so strong that President J. M. P. Atkinson personally organized the student body as a company and led it away to northwestern Virginia as the captain. The "Hampden-Sydney Boys" left without taking exams. Underage and untrained, they soon endured "most arduous service." Yet, they expressed no fear, for they said they "enlisted to serve our country anywhere, and in any way she might need us." 13

The young men marched away to fight their country's enemy with force and strength. Behind them remained a different sort of battle—one for the veteran elders and ministers. This was the issue of what the Old School Presbyterian Church should do about the formation of the Confederate States. Religion and politics were closely related in the minds of Southerners. Church and state could not be completely separated. With no historical precedent to look back upon, churchmen could only rely on their own desires.

As the meeting of the General Assembly approached, many men in the South noted that the annual gathering would convene in the Seventh Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia on May 16. To go there would involve some soul-searching. For years the Old School had proudly boasted of its national unity, but the spiritual unity of this group was weakening.

Since the end of 1860, church papers in the South had discussed the coming Assembly. Each paper described the meeting with a slightly different interpretation. After earlier asserting that "there are no causes for disunion in the Presbyterian Church," the Central Presbyterian

13 Alfred J. Morrison, The College of Hampden-Sidney, Calendar of Board Minutes 1776-1876 (Richmond, 1912), 148-149 (August 6, 1861); CP, July 13, 1861.
granted that some causes did exist, but hoped that "they may not communi-
cate their contagion" to the Assembly. At the same time, the True Witness
and Sentinel announced no church members in the Southwest had been found
who really favored dividing the church. The Witness advised its readers
that "the more perilous our country's condition, the more important will
it be for all our commissioners to be at their post." As for "secession
in the church," the Witness preferred to wait and let the issue be forced
"by brethren of other sections of our late political Union."

In the same manner, the North Carolina Presbyterian had consistently
advised church leaders to continue the unity of the church. If a move
for religious separation arose, it must come from the North. Only the
Southern Presbyterian, reflecting the ardent Southern nationalism of
South Carolina, openly suggested a departure of the Southern presbyteries
from the Old School Church. Even this paper made no claim of immediacy
in this matter. "When we separate from the North ecclesiastically, we
shall wish to do it, as we wish to do so politically, in peace and
kindness."14

While the papers expressed themselves, some leaders spoke their
opinions. Thornwell, always a force to be reckoned with, pictured the
church "already heading in different directions" and predicted "a great
and terrible division." Such an ardent secessionist as Palmer wanted
unity in the church in order to demonstrate "the purely spiritual
character of the Church as 'the kingdom which is not of this world.'"
Smyth, whose Northern friends wrote him they also hoped for patience

14 CP, December 29, 1860, March 9, 1861; TWS, April 20-27, 1861; XCP,
December 22, 1860, March 2, 1861; SP, March 16, 1861.
and understanding among the faithful, appealed to religious men to demonstrate more forebearance and not to cause disunion of the flock. In fact, he said the situation called for "a masterly inactivity." 15

Perhaps the situation had gone too far for unity. In their attitude toward the North, churchmen could no longer differentiate between Northern Presbyterians and other men beyond the Potomac. Southern students at Princeton Seminary were preparing to go home. Church members had already demonstrated that they were no longer willing to contribute to mission funds that would go outside the Confederacy for distribution. As a result the mission work was languishing, and Southerners now thought most about home missions. 16

No matter what the average communicant might feel, the actual decision in this matter would be reached by the various presbyteries. First, they had to elect commissioners to the Assembly. The men they selected were all important. Some presbyteries had selected their commissioners at the fall meetings and therefore had not discussed the question of separation within the church. Of the forty-six presbyteries within the states forming the Confederacy, twenty-eight chose their commissioners in the spring with no discussion of whether or not these men should attend the gathering in Philadelphia. Apparently all planned to attend.

In the last weeks prior to the gathering of the Assembly, ten different presbyteries reconsidered the propriety of sending commissioners.

15 Centennial Celebration of the Dedication of the First Presbyterian Church, Charleston, South Carolina (Charleston, 1815), 59; Thompson, Presbyterian Churches, 501; SP, March 30, 1861.

In most of the other presbyteries, however, the commissioners solicited the opinions of their friends and colleagues as to whether they should go to Philadelphia. Many were in the same quandary as the Presbytery of Hopewell in Georgia which decided to send commissioners if war did not come first, but later unanimously voted not to send them. In Virginia, both Montgomery and East Hanover Presbyteries debated the question at length and then decided to send commissioners. The Brazos Presbytery of Texas issued a public statement of its opinion "in regard to the continued unity of our Church, North and South," saying the commissioners were to conduct themselves as they saw fit, but when they arrived in Philadelphia, they were to point out the "actual existence and Providential establishment" of the Confederacy and to "avow our fealty thereto." Within the Assembly, these churchmen still envisioned no "cause for divisive discussion, or divisions of opinion, or change of practice." 17

In spite of the efforts of such groups as the Presbytery of Arkansas, which stated that it did "sincerely deprecate and will resist all attempts to divide or sectionalize our hitherto harmonious and united church," loud voices proclaimed the need for withholding all Southern commissioners from the Assembly. In explaining this need, Western Texas Presbytery mentioned that "war actually exists between the Old Federal Government . . . and the Southern confederacy," Roanoke Presbytery was apprehensive of "the difficulties attendant upon a visit to Philadelphia."

and Cherokee Presbytery in Georgia simply thought "it was inexpedient for obvious reasons" to go to the Assembly. 18

South Carolinians left nothing to chance, for they wanted all to know their opinion. Harmony Presbytery called a special meeting to declare its intentions of remaining unrepresented. Charleston Presbytery gathered while "the ground beneath the feet of the members was reverberating with the sound of battle" at Fort Sumter and voted not to send any commissioners. South Carolina Presbytery summed up the attitudes of the other presbyteries in the state in a resolution which noted that "the President of the United States has declared the Confederate States to be in a state of insurrection and has called for an army of seventy-five thousand men to aid the regular army in quelling this pretended insurrection, and has collected a large fleet to make a descent upon our coast, thereby inaugurating civil war." In such a situation, these Old School leaders considered it unthinkable to send men "in the midst of the enemies of our peace and of our rights." 19

Most bodies in the South had already acted by the time the news of the action at Fort Sumter became widely known. Since a majority of the commissioners had been selected, the individuals chose their course of action for themselves. Time was short. There was little chance of consulting with everyone. News from the North was often garbled and confused.

18 "Minutes of the Presbytery of Arkansas, 1850-1869," 50 (April 14, 1861); "Western Texas Presbytery, 1851-1871," 163 (April 27, 1861); "Records of Roanoke Presbytery, 1850-1873," 52-53 (May 2, 1861), MSS, Union Seminary; "Minutes of the Presbytery of Cherokee, 1856-1873," 173 (April 26, 1861).

19 SP, April 22, May 25, 1861; "Minutes of Presbytery of Charleston, 1853-1864," 387 (April 11, 1861); "Minutes of Presbytery of South Carolina, 1855-1867," 332-333 (April 19, 1861).
Nothing was clear — nothing except that shots had been fired by one group of Americans at another group of Americans, with each group claiming justification. Churchmen were hit from all sides by pressures which they could hardly understand. In rapid order, shooting had broken out, the Southern students at Princeton Seminary came home, church papers in the North spoke out against the Confederacy, and some Southern commissioners announced their intentions of staying home.

While the undecided men sought advice and guidance, the quartet of Southern weeklies offered their advice. Since the Southern Presbyterian had already advised that a religious division was prudent, it surmised there would be "scarcely one commissioner" from the South in Philadelphia. The Central Presbyterian and its editor had begun to lose hope for the continued unity of the church but still believed "we ought to refrain from anything rash." If the split came, let it not be caused by the South. Even for patient man, the times seemed unsafe for travel to Philadelphia "without exposure to insult, if not violence." The North Carolina Presbyterian, also had little hope for preventing a church split and pointed out that "intimations are already thrown out that citizens from the 'rebel states', even though sent to the General Assembly, will not be kindly received nor protected from insult and injury."  

Sixteen men — fourteen ministers and two elders — attended the

---


Assembly from the Confederacy. When the meeting opened on May 16, fourteen Dixie commissioners were present and the other two arrived the next day. Perhaps the most important Southerners in attendance were William M. Baker from Texas and Richmond McInnis of the *True Witness* and *Sentinel*. Both were men of courage and both had been less than enthusiastic about secession. Baker, especially, had never renounced his Unionism.

The Seventh Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, a beautiful structure resembling a Greek temple, located on Penn Square, was not only the scene of the Assembly, but also the point of interest for many citizens of the United States. With the Old School the largest religious body to hold a national meeting during the year and the New School Assembly, then gathering at Syracuse, fervently against the Confederacy, all observers were looking to Philadelphia to see if the Old School would again attempt to straddle the widening chasm between the two sections. With the news of Fort Sumter hardly a month old, both Union and Confederacy had keen interest in the decisions of the patriarchs.

When the Permanent Clerk recorded the commissioners present, he discovered that only 264 men had reported, as compared to 336 in 1860. Of forty-six presbyteries from the Confederacy, only thirteen were represented in any manner — only two having both minister and elder present. Not a single man had come from the Synods of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, or South Carolina. The only Virginians were from the western section of the state in Greenbrier Presbytery. Most noticeable was the complete absence of the leaders of the Southern wing of the

---

church, for no recognized Southern leader came to Philadelphia. Thornwell did send a message explaining his physical infirmities and containing his greetings to the Assembly. He reminded his former colleagues that the recent political events had made it "inexpedient, if not impossible" for him to attend. Then he went on to request that the church do all in her power to promote peace. Any possibility for conciliation was wiped out, however, when he closed his remarks by imploring that God "may restore harmony between your country and mine." 23 From Palmer and all the other acknowledged spokesmen within the Confederate States there was only ominous silence.

The Assembly's formal business opened on a reconciliatory note when Dr. John C. Packus of Baltimore was elected Moderator. His election was followed by two days of caution before Gardiner Spring arose and proposed a resolution that a special committee "be appointed to inquire into the expediency of taking some expression of their devotion to the Union of these States, and their loyalty to the Government." With great haste the motion was tabled by a vote of 123 to 102. Immediately there began a long series of involved arguments on points of order — as the newspapers gave added coverage to the deliberations. 24

This action on Saturday shocked the few Southerners, for Spring had been a longtime conservative and men in Dixie considered him one with whom they could reach an understanding. On the occasion of his golden anniversary in the pulpit of the Brick Church in New York City,

23 Adger and Girardeau (eds.), Works of Thornwell, I7, 342-349. For a detailed study of the complete proceedings of the Assembly, see Warder Velde, Presbyterian Churches, 42-87.

24 Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1861 (Philadelphia, 1861), 303.
he had been commended highly by Southerners who believed he had "preached the Gospel," while letting others "preach the times." Now, this supposed friend had proposed religious legislation which would strike at the heart of the united church.

As the Assembly paused for the Sabbath, the tension increased. Until the following Wednesday, the sixth session of the Assembly, the situation simmered, then, the venerable Spring again rose to address the commissioners. After describing a set of resolutions he would propose, he read prepared statements to his fellow Presbyterians. Intently they listened as he spoke:

Gratefully acknowledging the distinguished bounty and care of Almighty God toward this favored land, and also recognizing our obligations to submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, this General Assembly adopt the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1. That in view of the present agitated and unhappy condition of this country, the first day of July next be hereby set apart as a day of prayer throughout our bounds; and that on that day ministers and people are called on humbly to confess and bewail our national sins; to offer our thanks to the Father of light for his abundant and undeserved goodness towards us as a nation; to seek his guidance and blessing upon our rulers, and their counsels, as well as the Congress of the United States about to assemble; and to implore him, in the name of Jesus Christ, the Great High Priest of the Christian Profession, to turn away his anger from us, and speedily restore to us the blessings of an honorable peace.

Resolved, 2. That in the judgment of this Assembly, it is the duty of the ministry and churches under its care to do all in their power to promote and perpetuate the integrity of these United States, and to strengthen, uphold, and encourage the Federal Government. 25

These "Spring Resolutions" caused a furor among all who heard them. For a week, the proposals were hotly debated. During this time,

25 TW, August 18, 1860; CP, August 4, 1860; Wilson (ed.), Presbyterian Almanac for 1862, 69.
the commissioners sensed increased public pressure to make some statement on the issue raised by Spring. Opponents unsuccessfully tried to offer substitutes for Spring's proposals. A motion to table the "Resolutions" was decisively defeated—a victory for the group in favor of the "Resolutions" and a slap at the South as well. The Southerners voted unanimously to table, but to no avail. During the week of argument, prayer, and shouting, the "Resolutions" were changed slightly, before coming to a vote. In the version the Assembly finally considered, the first resolution had three minor changes in wording and the second was altered with a new paragraph added to the revised version:

Resolved, 2. That this General Assembly, in the spirit of that Christian patriotism which the Scriptures enjoin, and which has always characterized this Church, do hereby acknowledge and declare our obligations to promote and perpetuate, so far as in us lies, the integrity of these United States, and to strengthen, uphold, and encourage the Federal Government in the exercise of all its functions under our noble Constitution; and to this Constitution in all its provisions, requirements, and principles, we profess our unabated loyalty.

And to avoid all misconception, the Assembly declare that by the terms "Federal Government," as here used, is not meant any particular administration, or the particular opinions of any particular party, but that central administration, which being at any time appointed and inaugurated according to the forms prescribed in the Constitution of the United States, is the visible representative of our national existence. 26

When the final votes were tallied, not one commissioner from the Confederacy voted for the "Resolutions." Some of them had spoken out in opposition, but most simply recognized that the impasse between the two factions within the Old School Church had been reached. Two men from Dixie spoke out to present their views, but they were hardly noticed in

26 Minutes, General Assembly, USA, 1861, 329-330.
the clamor around the Philadelphia gathering. Baker, educated and first licensed to preach in the North, attempted in vain to present the problem the "resolutions" would force upon moderates like himself when they returned home. He warned that "if you drive us off, you yourselves force us into the arms of the Secessionists." This action would make them "either leave our all . . . or separate from you." McInnis, never afraid to speak in times of danger, echoed the same sentiments, but he and Baker apparently changed no one's opinion. Then, the vote taken, they resigned themselves to the situation. Baker left the Assembly three days before its adjournment, completed his personal business in Philadelphia, and returned home, only to find a confused church awaiting his return. 27

Mail had not travelled regularly between the United and Confederate States since the middle of May, and only incomplete reports of the Assembly's proceedings had reached Confederate Presbyterians. The Christian Observer gave complete reports of the deliberations, as well as the meetings in the New School and United Presbyterian Churches, but this paper was not delivered in most of the Confederacy at this time. First reports in the Southern Presbyterian did not indicate the general contents of the "Spring Resolutions", nor their fate. When the Central Presbyterian first described the Assembly, it professed a lack of information but alleged "The spirit of good will seemed to prevail generally." Until the middle of June, the papers still were without trustworthy information about the Assembly. Then, as word of the "Resolutions" began to circulate, the Central Presbyterian asked for calm. A Virginian who

had attended the Assembly assured his friends that "men could not have been treated more kindly and courteously than all of us from the South were," but he admitted seeing some "exhibitions of deadly hatred toward the South." 28

During the month of June the decisions of the highest church courts became known in the Confederacy. The New School Assembly had drafted resolutions which condemned the "wickedness" and "bold advocacy" of secession in the South, while the United Presbyterian Church declared "slaveholding is the great and immediate cause of the present trouble." The latter body forwarded a letter to Lincoln which assured the Federal President of their "earnest sympathy" and "readiness to cooperate with him, in his endeavors to maintain the Constitution and the integrity of the nation." 29

The United Synod had convened in Richmond on the same day the Old School Assembly gathered in Philadelphia. There was no division of opinion in the Virginia meeting, for the Synod contained only avowed Confederates. Twenty-nine men journeyed to the session, representing all but three presbyteries. The four day session dealt with the routine matters of the faith, but in such times few things seemed as routine as before. One presbytery proposed that the Synod change its name to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the Confederate States of America, because of "the changes transpiring in the Civil relations of our Country and the consequent necessity of a change in the title." After considering the request, the Synod deferred action

28 SP, May 25, 1861; CP, May 25, June 22, 1861.

when a representative of the presbytery assured the gathering "that facts had come to his knowledge, which he had reason to believe would have led the Presbytery to different action of the subject, if they had been in their possession."

The United Synod heard cheering news on the subject of missions. Joseph Clay Stiles, known to Presbyterians throughout the South as a dynamic and fervent speaker, agreed to serve as an evangelist, "preaching whenever an opportunity was open." A report from the foreign missionary in Greece, Michael D. Kalopothakes, was also encouraging. A. H. H. Boyd reported some seventy thousand dollars had been subscribed for the seminary, but no more than six thousand had been collected. The Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia had definitely refused the requested "privileges," so the seminary Directors had begun to look elsewhere for a site. Many favored Richmond, but no final selection had yet been made. Funds were not coming in as expected, but Dr. Boyd reminded the members of the Synod that with the formation of the Confederacy the need for a theological school was "more pressing and urgent than ever." Still, in spite of setbacks, the men of the Synod were generally pleased with their progress. The narrative noted many causes for thankfulness -- particularly the "unity" within the Synod -- and the commissioners looked hopefully to the 1862 meeting scheduled for Chattanooga. 30

A unity of a different sort existed within the Old School in the

---

30 "Records of Newton Presbytery, 1854-1864," 88-89 (May 9, 1861), MSS, Montreat; GC, May 23-30, 1861; CP, October 13, 1860; Minutes of the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, with an appendix, May, A.D., 1861, Richmond, Va. (Richmond, 1861).
Confederacy by mid-June — a common outcry against the actions of the Philadelphia Assembly. Particular scorn was reserved for the "Spring Resolutions" and their author. Each day of discussion and contemplation of the Assembly stirred Southern tempers. Ben Palmer angrily exclaimed: "Never was there a clearer usurpation by the Church of the prerogative and function of the State." Robert L. Dabney called the whole affair "the essence of popery," while Waddel, deeply angered by the actions of his old friends in the North, wrote to Spring and labelled the "Resolutions" "incendiary," as well as "unchristian and inhuman." Thomas Smyth, as usual, found occasion to expound his views with a long oration in which he attacked the Northern Assembly with scripture, invective, and Southern folklore. Some concluded that in the case of Spring, "old fools are indeed the worst of fools."

The Assembly was "disgraced" in Southern eyes. Men said they no longer wanted any relations "with a body so utterly lose to all sense of justice and right." Letters poured in to the editors of church weeklies piling charge upon charge against the Northerners. Even the Christian Observer, published in Philadelphia, called the matter decided by the Assembly "a political question." Not one Southern churchman publicly asserted his belief in either the wisdom or the right of the Assembly to pass such "resolutions." Everywhere the charge was the same — religious men delving into political matters. Article after article in church papers repeated the same attitude with varying embellishments and

31 Benjamin M. Palmer, "The Church a Spiritual Kingdom," in Wilson, Memorial Addresses, 52-53; Dabney, "Autobiography," 73; CP, July 13, 1861; Thomas Smyth, The War of the South Vindicated and the War against the South Condemned... (Charleston, 1861); William Cameron (Brandon, Miss.) to Rev. Abner A. Porter, June 7, 1861, MSS, Porter Letters.
additions. John B. Adger, in a lengthy article in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, described the whole affair as "long and absurd," for it really dealt with "loyalty resolutions" — clearly not a proper subject for an ecclesiastical body. 32

In the heat of anger, a few presbyteries asked their commissioners why they did not attend the Philadelphia conclave. The reasons were all accepted as more than justified: "the armed hostility of prominent ministers and members of our church at the North," plus the belief "that the question of civil government would necessarily engage the attention of the body," were commonly cited. Members of the Synod of South Carolina were particularly piqued that their book of minutes had been forwarded to Philadelphia, and kept by the officials of the Old School. 33

Numerous influential Southern leaders attacked the motives of the few men from Dixie who went to Philadelphia. To the ardent secessionist, Baker and McInnis had gone into "a foreign country," where they had no business. Baker received most of the criticism and was charged with having made pro-Union statements before the Assembly. Within the church, ministers and elders alike accused him of disloyalty to the new nation and his state. In Texas, he faced a storm of protest by church members and secular papers alike. He replied to all the charges and professed deep loyalty for the Confederacy where he said he was "hoping to labor till death in the ministry upon her soil." In addition, he was prepared

---


33 "Minutes of Presbytery of Bethel, 1850-1868," 218 (July 16, 1861; "Minutes of the Presbytery of East Alabama, 1856-1866," 284 (June 15, 1861); "South Carolina Synod, 1858-1881," 93.
to assist "in whatever career may lie before the Presbyterian Church in the South."

While Baker defended himself, McInnis used the columns of the True Witness and Sentinel to demonstrate his desire for Southern independence, religious as well as political. He tried to explain the extremism of the "Spring Resolutions" by describing the great political pressure brought on the commissioners in the North. And, in spite of effigies hung in front of the church, he declared the conduct of the Southerners had been "characterized neither by ambiguity nor timidity." No matter what either McInnis, Baker, or their few defenders said, most Southerners never forgave them or ceased to hold them in suspicion.

Feeling ran high against anyone who failed to express positive support for the Confederacy. Silence was not enough. Everyone must proclaim his loyalty loudly. The stream of ministers and elders continued as men from both sections "went home." Randolph A. DeLancey, secretary of the Southwestern Advisory Committee in New Orleans resigned in June and left the South. At the same time, James H. McNeill, a native North Carolinian, left his post in New York City as secretary of the American Bible Society.

One man occupied a unique post immediately after the Assembly — William J. Hoge, brother of Moses Hoge and co-pastor of the Brick Church with Gardiner Spring. Strong pressure arose for him to denounce the secessionists and he soon resigned his pastorate, declaring that he had not merited the rebuke attributed to Daniel Webster who attacked preachers

34 Seguin (Tex.) Southern Confederacy, July 5, 1861; Bellville (Tex.) Countryman, July 10, 1861; Houston Weekly Telegraph, July 10, 1861; SP, August 3, 1861; CP, July 13, 1861; Adger, "General Assembly of 1861," SPR, XIV(1861-1862), 296-349.
for taking "their text from the Bible and their sermons from the newspapers." Instead, Hoge claimed to have avoided political matters, until he had to make a choice between the two warring nations. "My heart has yearned toward my beloved South, and especially the Commonwealth of Virginia," he told the parishioners as he bade them farewell. Before he left, many of them expressed their sorrow at his departure and one hoped they would later "meet under brighter skies."  

The dislocation of such people was only a fraction of the difficulties which Presbyterians soon experienced. Mail reached the North only via a circuitous route through Nashville. Plans for church celebrations were postponed indefinitely in order to make way for material preparations. Schools were already being commandeered for military use. With men departing for the front, rival armies moving southward, and many ministers preaching in camp, congregations lost more of their customary stability.  

Like most of their fellow Confederates, Presbyterians flocked to the army after Lincoln's call for volunteers. As the young men departed, many ministers prepared to join them and carry the Gospel to these paladins in gray. The clergymen not only hoped to restrict some of the proverbial immoralities of the camp, but they most especially sought to

---

35 Wilson (ed.), Presbyterian Almanac for 1862, 51; Charlotte (N. C.) Western Democrat, June 18, 1861; William J. Hoge, A Discourse delivered by the ... Collegiate Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York, on the resignation of His Charge (New York, 1861); Fred S. Clark (New York, N. Y.) to William J. Hoge, July 22, 1861, MSS, Letters to William J. Hoge, Montreal.

36 SP, July 6, 1861; Exercises connected with the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Second Presbyterian Church of Charleston, S. C. (Charleston, 1910), 39-43; "Foote Journal," June 9, 1861. The session minute books of many congregations had no entries after May or June, in some cases not until the summer of 1865.
see that battles would be waged for the Lord as well as for state rights.

At first, ministers usually attached themselves to units from their local areas as they departed for the northern border of the Confederacy, or they began to preach to a nearby post. Not only the lesser-known prophets of the church, but such guiding lights as Dabney, who went to Manassas Junction, Hoge, who became chaplain at the Camp of Instruction near Richmond, and Woodrow, left their regular pastorates. Since everyone agreed that any war would be brief, few men expected to be out of their regular pulpits for long. Most of the ministers obtained leave of up to three months from their congregations, for they expected to be home for harvest, just as the young men expected to be back at their studies when the fall semester began.

In the haste of forming an entirely new army, the status of the chaplain was not made clear. To save time and confusion, most congregations merely continued their pastor's salary while he was with the army. In some cases, he attached himself to a unit, in other instances, he merely accompanied a group of units and was connected with none of them. Some presbyteries began to pay the expenses of chaplains which they selected, following the pattern begun by Florida Presbytery.

Chaplains and evangelists soon discovered that all soldiers did not rush to hear the word. Sunday dress parades, the holiday atmosphere of some camps, a lack of status and rank for the chaplain, and general disinterest, all hindered the success of religious work. Still, reports soon crowded church papers of a rapid rise in religious interest among

---

37 Special Order 773, June 6, 1861, MSS, Charles E. Dabney Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library; Hoge, Moses Hoge, 145-146; Marion F. Woodrow (ed.), Dr. James Woodrow as Seen by his Friends (Columbia, S. C., 1904), 20.
the ranks. The soldiers who marched away to save their homes from "wicked aggression," began to turn to the Lord for support and guidance. While a few Presbyterians wanted the Confederate flag to indicate a national recognition of God, units such as the "Guilford Dixie Boys" from North Carolina carried a banner which bore a motto: "Upheld by Freem. In the name of God." 38

Contributions to send religious materials to the soldiers soon reached astounding proportions. By the beginning of summer, each issue of a church paper listed numerous donors who sent cash to defray the cost of religious papers and tracts. Printed matter of all sorts went to the soldiers, but churchmen soon learned that tracts, Testaments, and religious newspapers were both preferred and most useful in camp or on the march. Donations ranged as high as one thousand dollars and came from such humble donors as "five little girls . . . whose names are Minnie, Annie, Hattie, Katie, and Alice." Presbyteries and editors urged the faithful to donate all available Testaments for use in "preparing men for a sudden death and for the eternal world." 39

A few ministers forsook the cloth and the robe to join the army as soldiers. For these men, God's Sword would defend His Word. They justified their action by referring to Old Testament leaders and sought to instill in their comrades a fighting as well as a praying spirit. 40

38 McIlwaine, Memories, 136; SP, April 6, 1861; J. H. Smith Diary, July 4, 1861.


40 The clergymen who joined the army as fighting men in the first weeks of the war were: Dabney Carr Harrison of Virginia, Francis McMurray of Georgia, John Miller of Virginia, John H. Miller of Mississippi, Willis L. Miller of North Carolina, Edward E. Porter of Tennessee, and John W. Pugh of Virginia.
They joined some of the more respected laymen of the church — men such as Daniel Harvey Hill and his brother-in-law, Thomas Jonathan Jackson — who marched away to defend the South and her church.

Hill lectured his regiment of North Carolina Volunteers on moral conduct and religious courage and soon was noted as a Christian leader. As a result, he became the first Presbyterian officer to merit frequent mention in church papers. Soon, he was described as "a soldier of the Cross, as valiant for Christ as he was for his country." When Hill's unit fought and won the first engagement of note in eastern Virginia at Bethel, he immediately thanked God for the "great and decided victory." 41 Most members of his denomination thought it both fitting and proper that he should do so.

Most church members could not go north to fight the invading Yankee. Instead they stayed behind to support those who did depart. These waiting relatives and friends tried to supply the physical needs of their defenders. At the same time, they wanted to aid in giving spiritual strength to the soldiers and to the nation. All agreed that "we can pray, if we cannot fight." President Davis offered the Confederate populace their first opportunity to demonstrate their ardent loyalty and faith in the success of the new nation when he proclaimed June 13 as a national day of fasting and prayer. This proclamation produced general congratulation for the Chief Executive for his recognition of the Lord. Businessmen and farmers prepared to suspend all business and work for the day. The clergy urged everyone to go to the sanctuary. Many ministers

participated in gathering a collection on that day "to Assist in Defraying the Expenses of the Present War."\textsuperscript{42}

On the day of fasting, the citizenry jammed the houses of worship. Masters released slaves from the day's work so they too could honor the Lord. No observer had ever seen such a remarkable reaction of the public before. Instead of the hum of commerce or martial airs, the words of the ministry sounded across the land.\textsuperscript{43} Clergymen of all denominations, abilities, and interests, explained the purposes of the day and portrayed the struggle ahead. Invariably the pulpit orators emphasized the religious nature of the combat between the two nations.

Thomas Smyth insisted that the war was caused by a Southern awakening to Yankee plans for despotism. God was with the Confederacy, he declared. "We have crossed swords with the Northern Confederacy over the Bible... The whole movement of the South is based upon God's Word, simply and sincerely interpreted, believed and obeyed." In New Orleans, Ben Palmer likened the Confederate States to the eleven tribes of Israel who warred against Pharaoh. Reminding his audience that the new nation must turn to God for aid and guidance, Palmer acclaimed the South's struggle and proclaimed that "the last hope of self-government upon this Continent lies in these eleven Confederate States."

A Mobile minister compared Lincoln and his ungodly regime to Davis

\textsuperscript{42} Pryor, Reminiscences, 135; CP, June 8, 1861; Rev. Andrew M. Watson (Bridgeville, Ala.) to Rev. Abner A. Porter, June 5, 1861, MSS, Porter Letters; "Minutes of Presbytery of Orange, 1858-1868," 144 (June 12, 1861); Richmond Enquirer (semi-weekly), June 11, 1861.

\textsuperscript{43} Elliott Diary, June 13, 1861; E. M. Smith Diary, 99 (June 13, 1861); William Mitchell (Athens, Ga.) to Rev. Abner A. Porter, June 17, 1861, and Rev. G. W. Boggs (Camden, Ala.) to Rev. Abner A. Porter, June 27, 1861, MSS, Porter Letters; McFarland Diary, June 13, 1861; Russel, "Labors in the Ministry," 144 (June 13, 1861).
and the Southerners who would observe such a holy day. If the people
grew faint-hearted, they must remember "God is still on the side of truth
and justice." Another Alabama pastor reminded his congregation of the
material sins of the nation, but he also praised the Confederacy's wil-
lingness to place the "nation's great, throbbing, passion-stricken heart
. . . upon the altar." The enemy would destroy the way of life so dear
to so many. They "aim the death-blow at our sacred institutions."

Dabney, preaching to a regiment in northern Virginia, compared the
Confederacy to Israel, as did Palmer. Although the South had sins she
must confess, he asserted there was justice in her cause. Others agreed
with him in their emphasis on the planned evils of the Union which had
left no alternative for Southerners. 44 The organization of a separate
government, the rush of the faithful to defend the rights of Dixie, and
the distinct religious atmosphere of the Southern government, all in-
dicated to many observers that this was indeed a battle for the Lord
against the minions of evil and darkness.

There was no doubt in the minds of the faithful of the justice of
the battle for Southern rights, or in the belief that God favored the
Confederacy. Surely, they thought, the baseness of the Federal ambitions
was as evident as the fervent hope for peace among the citizens of the

44 Smyth, Battle of Fort Sumter; Benjamin M. Palmer, National Respon-
sibility before God. . . . (New Orleans, 1861); Mitchell, A Bible Defense
of Slavery, and the Unity of Mankind, (Mobile, 1861); Thomas L. De Veaux,
Fast-Day Sermon, preached in the Good Hope Church, Lowndes County,
Alabama, Thursday, June 13th, 1861 (Wytheville, Va., 1861); CE, July 20,
1861; CE, September 28, 1861. In the Second Presbyterian Church,
Nashville, Tennessee, pressure from the congregation forced the minister
to resign when he failed to defend the Confederacy in his Fast Day
message. Mrs. Roy C. Avery (ed.), "The Second Presbyterian Church of
Nashville During the Civil War," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, XI
(1952), 357-367.
Cotton Kingdom. Prayer meetings soon formed in towns and hamlets, where the faithful begged for peace and liberty. Men in the gray army believed they could take care of any marauding invader, for the politicians assured these warriors of their strength and the preachers told them of God's blessing. On July 4, Thomas Smyth preached on "The War of the South Vindicated," and lashed out at the Old School Assembly. At the same time, he carefully defended the actions of the South with scripture.45

If God favored the new nation, as so many people in the Confederacy believed, perhaps He would indicate this favor in the battles which everyone expected imminently. Most authorities confidently predicted the battle to come in the area between the two capitals — Richmond and Washington. Throughout the early weeks of summer, the two armies converged on Northern Virginia, drawing ever closer to each other. Finally, on Sunday, July 21, the men in blue and gray clashed in a major engagement near the railroad junction at Manassas, along the small, muddy stream of Bull Run. The action was savage, bloody, sometimes confused, and almost won by the Union in mid-afternoon. At the decisive moment, however, Confederate forces won the day and by nightfall, the Federals were running back toward Washington and the South was celebrating a glorious victory.

Presbyterians took particular pride in the triumph, for the man whom some had known as Thomas J. Jackson, the eccentric deacon from Lexington, Virginia, was now Stonewall Jackson, a hero of the first magnitude. While ministers noted Jackson's role in saving the day for the South, the Congress at Richmond resolved "that we recognize the hand of the Most High God . . . in the glorious victory with which he hath crowned our arms at Manassas," and proclaimed the following Sabbath as

45 Smyth, South Vindicated.
a day of rational thanksgiving.\textsuperscript{46}

Leity and clergy interpreted the battle to be a sure indication of Confederate might, but more important, a sign of God's aid. "This battle will almost decide the conflict," wrote one seminarian, while a minister referred to the "wonderful victory that God has given us." The Central Presbyterian described "Our Waterloo," which "decides the independence of the Confederate States." Thankful prayers expressed the gratefulness of the suppliants as well as their hope that Divine aid would be granted "until our foes be constrained to sue for peace, and let us alone."\textsuperscript{47}

All discussion centered on the battle. Dabney wrote home about the conflict. Presbyteries paused to offer thanks, though there were deaths to mourn. Churchmen were proud of Jackson's record as well as that of numerous other religious figures. One chaplain had served bravely as commander of a wing of a North Carolina regiment through the entire action. And even in the midst of the holocaust, mighty Stonewall had not forgotten the work of the colored Sunday School in his home congregation.\textsuperscript{48}

When pastors mounted their pulpits all over Zion to lead the nation in praise of the Giver of Victory, they touched the hearts of all.

\textsuperscript{46} E. Werton Coulter, \textit{The Confederate States of America} (Baton Rouge, 1950), 530.

\textsuperscript{47} Jacobs (ed.), \textit{Diary of Jacobs}, 81 (July 24, 1861); McFarland Diary, August 1, 1861; CP, July 27, 1861; Russell, "Labor in the Ministry," 145 (July 24, 1861).

\textsuperscript{48} Rev. Robert L. Dabney (Manassas, Va.) to wife, July 26, 1861, MSS, Charles Dabney Papers; "Florida Presbytery, 1860-1875," 28 (July 24, 1861); CP, August 3, 1861; Frank E. Vandiver, \textit{Mighty Stonewall} (New York, 1957), 167.
In Alabama, a minister took his text "The battle is the Lord's," and explained how the Confederacy had received divine aid as did the Israelites against the Philistines. George D. Armstrong preached at Norfolk on a text from Exodus and interpreted the entire progress of the new nation as God's hand moving in history. He had guided the nation and her leaders, to whom He had given courage.

All over the South, the reaction was the same. Massed congregations heard their pastors describe God's influence in the struggle. Crowds listened to the outline of the record of the Lord's actions in behalf of His land. As he had done after the fall of Sumter, Thomas Smyth again explained recent events as the acts of God. According to this scholar-preacher, "God . . . commandeth war, threatens war, inflicts war, and again, maketh wars to cease." If doubters wondered about the purpose of war, it was to save "home and happiness, the purity of wives, and daughters, the sanctity of the fireside, the holiness and freedom of our altars, the security of peace, the prosperity of agriculture and commerce, the pursuit of happiness in the walks of science, and the groves of philosophy, and the studies and laboratories of art; above all, honor, principle, and the highest of all prerogatives — that of national sovereignty." 49

49 Thomas S. Winn, The Great Victory at Manassas' Junction . . . . (Tuscaloosa, 1861); George D. Armstrong, "The Good Hand of God upon Us," A Thanksgiving Sermon . . . . (Norfolk, 1861); Charles S. Vedder, "Offer unto God Thanksgiving" . . . . (Charleston, 1861); McFarland Diary, July 28, 1861; Russel, "Labors in the Ministry," 146 (July 28, 1861); Augusta Weekly Chronicle and Sentinel, July 31, 1861; Thomas Smyth, "The Victory of Manassas Plains," SPR, XIV(1861-1862), 593-617.
Chapter V "The Rubicon is crossed"

"I think there must and ought to be ultimately a division of our church," wrote the editor of the Southern Presbyterian to Thomas Smyth three weeks before the bombardment of Fort Sumter. Just as he desired political separation from the North, he also wanted religious independence. Other influential churchmen agreed with him at this early date — usually South Carolinians, either by birth or residence — but they were outnumbered until after the General Assembly at Philadelphia.¹

After Old School men in the South read the "Spring Resolutions," they registered their vehement opposition to this religious declaration just as they had condemned the political decisions of the Republican Party. With no hesitation, congregations recorded contempt for the decisions of the Assembly and considered plans for the future. Beginning in early June, sessions voted individually to leave the Assembly. When session moderators reported these actions to presbyteries and church papers, they always indicated that the votes were unanimous. At the same time, local congregations requested the presbyteries to leave the Northern Assembly, (as they usually identified the Old School now), and take action to form a Confederate Presbyterian Church.

While congregations acted on their own, one man had already begun organizing mission work in the South. J. Leighton Wilson, member of an old South Carolina family and an experienced foreign missionary, resigned

his post as third secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions in New York to return to his native state. A tall, strong man, he loved the Southern way of life, but his humanitarianism had caused him to free his inherited slaves and send them to Africa at his own expenses.

During the winter of argument between the sections, he worked for union, in the nation as well as in the church. He had no hatred for the North, but his love for the South dominated his moderate view of the sectional crisis. When he realized that the vigorous arguments might end in shooting, he sadly declared, "My mind is made up, I will go and suffer with my people." Soon he notified the Mission Board of his decision and then he wrote to Abner Porter about "devoting the remainder of his life to the welfare of our Southern Zion." After attending the General Assembly, Wilson sent his family southward by way of Kentucky and barely crossed the Potomac himself before travel ceased. Immediately, he announced formation of a temporary missions committee at Columbia, South Carolina, and requested donations.\(^2\)

Since many congregations and presbyteries had refused previously to send their mission funds to the national boards, Wilson's appeal offered an opportunity for coordination. The response was immediate and unanimous. Funds poured into his office from many donors. Everyone who expressed himself on the subject agreed that Wilson was ideally suited to lead the work.\(^3\)

---


The work of Domestic Missions was almost a completely local matter at this time. Some churches used their funds to assist congregations near them. Presbyteries supervised their own evangelists and did the best they could. In view of the situation, the Southwestern Advisory Committee at New Orleans decided "to act for the present independently of all control from the Board of Philadelphia," a decision which met with universal favor among Southern churchmen.4

While mission workers tried to serve the needs of their own areas, most Confederate Presbyterians were discussing the merits and methods of forming a separate church organization. Although a few congregations had already acted, the first presbyteries to rule on the question were Memphis and Orange. The latter body, one of the oldest units in the South, convened at Oxford, North Carolina, on June 12 with sixteen ministers and thirteen elders present. On the third day of this gathering, after much prayer and discussion, the presbytery unanimously resolved that the "events that have here happened and the circumstances now existing render it highly expedient (if not absolutely necessary) in order to enable the Presbyterian Churches in the Confederate States of America the better to perform the work, and promote the great interests of the Redeemer's Kingdom committed to their care, that they should establish for themselves a separate kingdom." They then resolved to recommend to all other Southern presbyteries that a convention be held on December 4 at Augusta, Georgia, to form such an organization and ordered the clerk to send copies of the resolutions to all other presbyteries in the Confederacy.5

---

4 CP, July 6, 1861; SP, July 6, 1861.

5 "Orange Presbytery, 1858-1868," 143-162 (June 12-15, 1861).
Meanwhile, in Somerville, Tennessee, eleven men from the Presbytery of Memphis discussed the same topic. They unanimously condemned the "Spring Resolutions," charged the United States with waging a "war of subjugation against us," and referred to the Confederacy as "our own government." In a series of resolves, Memphis Presbytery then broke off relations with the Old School Assembly and sent copies of the action to all other Southern presbyteries, calling on these sister presbyteries to join in appointing commissioners to organize a new assembly. For a place and date, Memphis Presbytery suggested the First Church in Memphis on the third Thursday in May, 1862, and suggested a preliminary "Special Meeting" at the First Church of Atlanta on August 15, "to consult upon various important matters, especially our benevolent operations." In addition, the presbytery asked all congregations to retain their benevolent funds until "proper organizations" were set up and then it elected representatives to the proposed Convention at Atlanta. To encourage unified action, the presbytery asked the stated clerk to send copies of the day's actions to the Memphis papers, all Presbyterian papers in the South, "each of the Stated Clerks of the Presbyteries in the Southern States," and to "as many others as he may choose." The next day, a Memphis paper announced the presbytery had passed an "Ordinance of Secession" and endorsed the proposed meeting of the first "Assembly of the Southern Church" in the Bluff City. John W. Waddel, a leader in the presbytery, was pleased that a South Carolinian had been among the leaders of religious "secession," and others in the church were satisfied that the action had come on an individual and spontaneous basis.  

---

on June 15, the Presbytery of East Alabama bitterly attacked the "Spring Resolutions" and the "most unjust, unholy and cruel war" which the Union was waging against the South. This body charged that the Old School Assembly had forced the issue of church division on them, although they did not vote to break connections with the Assembly. Instead, they recommended a "convention of Delegates" from presbyteries in the South to meet in Columbia, South Carolina, on September 8, "to take such steps, as in their judgment the action of the General Assembly demands." Another resolution declared that it was the "duty of ministers and churches . . . to do all in their power to promote and perpetuate the integrity of these Confederate States." 7

Meanwhile, Virginia Presbyterians had begun circulation of a petition which suggested a solution to the convention issue. This document attacked the General Assembly for sustaining the Federal Government in the "most unchristian, criminal and atrocious warfare of modern times, upon the free and sovereign States." In view of this violation, the petition proposed a meeting in Richmond on July 24, to "advise and recommend measures to ascertain the sense of Presbyterians" in regard to forming a new assembly. 8

These suggestions provoked an astounding amount of correspondence and discussion among denominational leaders. Since the church had no machinery for settling such a problem, the latter would have to be decided by some sort of tacit agreement. Thornwell, almost the titular head of the church in Dixie, soon indicated his approval of the convention idea.

7 "East Alabama Presbytery, 1856-1866," 288 (June 15, 1861).
8 Richmond Enquirer (semi-weekly), June 20, 1861.
He announced, "It is a great work we have to do. The Lord is calling us to a noble service. . . . Let us not be haggling about our future course." If he had his preference about a place for a convention, he would definitely oppose Richmond because of the impending meeting of Congress there. Instead, he favored Raleigh or Greensboro, North Carolina. He personally preferred the latter for "it is a charming region of the country" and was nearer to the Cotton States. As for procedural details, he advised a temporary organization and temporary committees to handle the benevolent agencies until an assembly convened.

In this situation, church papers served as platforms for exchange of ideas. Many observers suggested times and places for conventions to the editors. Within less than a month from the first suggestion, the sites mentioned were Atlanta, Montgomery, Richmond, Knoxville, Augusta, Charlotte, Salisbury, Greensboro and Raleigh, and the times of meeting were July 24, August 15, December 4, and the Spring of 1862. Most of the denomination waited to hear the leaders' opinions. John S. Wilson, the respected minister at Atlanta's First Church, wanted the convention to meet in his city on August 15, because Augusta was "simply too hot," and Richmond too crowded. The Southern Presbyterian liked the August date, but leaned to Charlotte as a place, while the Central Presbyterian endorsed the suggestion to meet in Augusta on December 4 in order to avoid unnecessary haste.

Some men wanted immediate action. Moses Hoge was "unwilling, for an hour longer than is necessary," to defer action and an Alabama leader was ready to act "on the instant." Joseph R. Wilson welcomed an assembly.

---

9 "JHT" (Glenn Springs, S. C.) to Rev. A. A. Porter, June 20, 1861, MSS, Porter Letters; SP, June 29, 1861; CP, August 1, 1861.

10 SP, June 22–July 6, 1861; CP, June 29, 1861.
in his church at Augusta and liked the idea of a convention in July to prepare for it. Still, many prominent figures counselled against undue haste, and begged that no decisions be made until the fall meetings of presbyteries. They were highly in favor of leaving the Old School Assembly, felt it had been the "tick, spittle and toady" of the Republicans and they wanted no connection with it, but feared hasty decisions.  

Whatever the time and place of any meeting, no one disagreed that a turning point had come to the church. One clergyman believed that "the Rubicon is crossed. We are two people and two churches." Although his last statement was still presumptuous, everyone agreed that in reality he was correct. The confusing matter was the organization of a separate church — how could professed conservatives form a new denominational body.

On July 9, the important Presbytery of New Orleans met "to consider the course pursued by the late General Assembly." Here, Ben Palmer had an opportunity to demonstrate his stand on the problems before the church, just as he had done earlier on the issues before the nation. Eleven other ministers and eight elders joined him at the meeting and after the opening formalities, each man gave a full explanation of his opinions. With this concensus as a basis, the presbytery agreed that the "Spring Resolutions" were "unconstitutional and Erastian to the last degree ... unchristian and unfair ... tyrannical and oppressive


... wicked." Then, the group voted to sever all ties with the Old School Assembly, but — following Palmer's advice — denied the constitutionality of an advisory convention. Instead, this presbytery emphatically called upon sister bodies to vote for an assembly in Augusta on December 4, with John N. Waddel and John H. Gray of LaGrange College and the Presbytery of Memphis, acting as a "Committee on Commissions" to receive reports from presbyteries and supervise preliminary activities.  

As individuals and church bodies studied the recommendations of the Louisianians, some joined in the criticism of the proposed convention. Like Palmer, they doubted the legality of any action not originated by the presbyteries. These men wanted to turn the entire matter over to the presbyteries. Virginians in particular, reinforced by the Central Presbyterian, favored an assembly in the early winter.  

Abner Porter and the Southern Presbyterian led the proponents of an advisory convention. Such powers as Dabney and Thornwell joined in publicly endorsing the convention. Although many letters in the Southern expressed divergent opinions, Porter argued the need of a convention and the expectation of a good attendance at such a meeting. He professed to have no allusion about the decisions of such a gathering, for he insisted it would be only a "consultative and preparatory" session. Porter and those who agreed with him made no hard and fast demands for a location, but Atlanta, Greensboro, and Knoxville, received most attention.  

13 "New Orleans Presbytery, 1854-1864," 241-251 (July 9, 1861); CP, July 27, 1861; printed circular of New Orleans Presbytery's actions in H. M. Smith Papers, Montreal.  

14 SP, August 3, 1861; Rev. C. A. Stillman (Cainesville, Ala.) to Rev. A. A. Porter, August 7, 1861, MSS; Porter Letters; CP, July 6-27, 1861.  

15 SP, July 6-20, 1861; Palmer, Thornwell, 493-494.
While the newspapers and oracles of the denomination continued to voice their attitudes, presbyteries met in called sessions to act on the "Spring Resolutions," the suggestions offered by the Presbyteries of Memphis, Orange, East Alabama, and New Orleans, and "the state of the country." On the latter subject, every presbytery was more than satisfied with the progress of Zion. "As a nation, and as a church, the providence of God is leading us here in the South by a way which we know not," decided one group. By the end of July, fifteen presbyteries detached themselves from their former ties with what they often called the "Northern Assembly." Reports of these presbyteries contained strong and hypersensitive references to the "unnecessary, unconstitutional, tyrannical and insulting" nature of the Spring Resolutions," the attempt of the Assembly to "place us in the position of traitors to the govt. to which we belong," the "deluded fanaticism which has swept over the North," and the invasion of the South to "desolate our fair land and annihilate our Southern Zion."16

Most of the presbyteries which met in July and early August endorsed the proposed convention to plan an assembly and many selected

---

16 The presbyteries and the dates they voted to leave the Old School Assembly are: Memphis, June 14; New Orleans, July 9, Concord, July 10; Tuscaloosa, July 10; Central Mississippi, July 11; South Carolina, July 11; Bethel, July 16; Western District, July 13; Tuscalia, July 13; Northern Mississippi, July 23; South Alabama, July 24; Florida, July 24; Cherokee, July 25; Charleston, July 28; East Alabama, July 31. In addition, Red River (July 13), and Western Texas (July 20), joined Orange in making known their preferences for a Confederate assembly. Flint River (August 7), also left the Old School Assembly, and Holston (August 17), considered the matter but decided to postpone action.

"Minutes of the Presbytery of North Mississippi, 1856-1878," 70 (July 23, 1861); "Western District Presbytery, 1857-1872," 121-122 (July 15, 1861); "Florida Presbytery, 1860-1875," 28-29 (July 24, 1861); "Tuscaloosa Presbytery, 1858-1867," 140-144 (July 10, 1861).
men to attend such a convention. The date of August 15 in Atlanta was the general choice of the Presbyteries which considered the matter. At least once presbytery in every synod except Arkansas and Virginia discussed and approved a convention. These same bodies commended Wilson's attempt to begin foreign mission work in the South as well as the Southwestern Advisory Committee's effort to carry on home mission activities. They also advised churches to continue collections to assist the spread of religion in the army.

Each of the presbyteries displayed lasting love and loyalty for the Confederacy. They usually listed the "Spring Resolution's" a justification for inclusion of political statements in religious declarations. Cherokee Presbytery referred to the "government of our choice," as did Red River Presbytery. A South Carolina presbytery referred to its members as "loyal citizens of a chosen Government and true patriots, pleading for and maintaining the rights of civil and religious liberty."

In Alabama, the men of Tuscumbia Presbytery said, "we owe and desire to pay our cordial allegiance" to the Confederacy, and the South Alabama representatives added: "we are living under the Confederate Government, and do most heartily approve of it and pray for its success and prosperity."

Although most of these groups justified their declarations by pointing to the alleged wrongs of the Old School Assembly, John E. Adger, in summing up the whole movement within the Southern presbyteries, said the action of the Old School Assembly was not the real basis for splitting the church.

Instead, he insisted the division of the United States was the proper cause.17

17 "Cherokee Presbytery, 1856-1873," 184 (July 25, 1861); "Red River Presbytery, 1854-1862," 163-168 (July 15, 1861); "Bethel Presbytery, 1850-1868," 222 (July 16, 1861); "Records of the Proceedings of Tuscumbia Presbytery, 1849-1868," 308-309, 233-234 (July 24, 1861); Adger, "General Assembly of 1861," SPR, XIV(1861-1862), 341-346.
While notices of the called meetings of the presbyteries crowded the pages of church papers, men still wondered about the advisability of a convention. Some of the earlier opponents softened their opposition while other previously quiet men spoke out. E. T. Baird, a recognized leader in Mississippi, insisted that all presbyteries must meet before any unity could be achieved. A meeting in the immediate future "will do harm" he charged, and will "occasion heart-burning and disaffection."

Charles Colcock Jones, the respected missionary to the slaves in Georgia, agreed with Baird and added that no action should be taken in haste.

Confederate Presbyterians generally opposed these views, however, for they believed the church must take a stand without hesitation or qualification. Most churchmen in the section agreed with a Georgia pastor who wrote: "For me, I 'itch' to get out of the Gen'l Assembly. I can't sit still in any patience. And I long to live in some place, if it can be found this side of heaven, where a real, genuine Yankee, will be a sight unseen." By the first of August, it was obvious that a convention would be held somewhere. As late as August 3, the Southern Presbyterian was not sure whether the convention would be held in Atlanta or in Greensboro, but this paper and the North Carolina Presbyterian both favored a meeting that would discuss and recommend action to the presbyteries. On August 10, the Southern announced the convention would open in Atlanta at the First Church on the fifteenth of the month and urged all the elected delegates to attend, "Let all go, and at least we can have a good prayer-meeting." 18

18 CP, August 10, 1861; EP, August 3-10, 1861; Rev. Robert A. Mickle (Griffin, Ga.) to Rev. A. A. Porter, July 25, 1861, MSS, Porter Letters.
On August 15, many people in Atlanta were still discussing the great victory of Confederate arms in northern Virginia, but they could not agree whether the battle should be labelled Manassas or Bull Run. As delegates began to arrive at the First Presbyterian Church at nine o'clock, the local "Committee of Arrangements" and the pastor, John S. Wilson, met them in the "Basement Room" of the church and then drove them to their lodgings. Since the meeting had been hastily called, no one knew how many delegates to expect, but by the time the meeting officially began at three in the afternoon, almost twenty had arrived. This small attendance disappointed everyone concerned with the gathering, but the presence of a number of visitors and observers alleviated some of the discouragement of this limited representation.

The delegates selected John S. Wilson of the host congregation a temporary moderator and Henry R. Raymond, minister in Marion, Alabama, became the temporary clerk. The moderator quickly appointed a three man Credentials Committee. Then, after a half-hour of devotional exercises, the Committee reported twenty-one official delegates present -- thirteen ministers and eight elders, representing eleven presbyteries. Men from only four synods were present: Alabama, Georgia, Nashville, and South Carolina. None of the giants of the church were in this group. Perhaps the most notable ministers in attendance were Abner Porter of the Southern, John E. Adger, and J. Leighton Wilson. A pair of South Carolinians, Chancellor Job Johnstone of the state Supreme Court, and Thomas C. Perrin, a noted state political figure, were the best known elders.\(^19\) Carolinians dominated this meeting with their numbers, their

\(^19\) *Atlanta Southern Confederacy, August 15, 17, 1861; Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates from various Presbyteries in the Confederate States of America . . .* (Atlanta, 1861); CP, August 31, 1861. For a listing of those in attendance, see Appendix C.
influence, and their voices. Eleven delegates represented the first Confederate state and a number of the men from other areas were born and educated in the same state.

After hearing the report on the delegates present, the Convention made the temporary officers permanent, adopted "the General Rules governing our Church Judicatories," and resolved to allow all ministers and elders present but not delegates, to join the deliberations as Corresponding Members. Under this provision, eight men (six ministers and two elders), took their seats and added their voices to the discussions. The decisions of this day were necessarily hurried. Without any clear pattern of tradition or history, the delegates began what they thought must be done. The North's religious challenge must be answered — the church must answer the call. Though the attendance was small and the situation confused, these churchmen would delay no longer.

The session of August 16 opened with a reading of the Scripture, singing, and prayer. Then four additional delegates were seated, including an elder from North Mississippi Presbytery, which made this presbytery the twelfth and last to be represented in the Convention. At the same time, the delegates welcomed three Methodist ministers as corresponding members. These formalities out of the way, the delegates took up the real purpose of their meeting. Moderator Wilson guided a polite but incisive discussion on the nature and method of the convention's recommendations. After many of the representatives expressed themselves on these points, the convention decided to appoint a committee of one man from each presbytery represented "with instructions to consider and report upon the various subjects legitimately belonging to the Convention." After deciding how the recommendations would be drawn up,
the churchmen resolved themselves into an interlocutory session, in order to allow everyone to have a chance for "full and free expression of opinions." For some time, the delegates explored the wide range of problems and issues facing the Presbyterians in the South. There was no debating, but a simple exchange of views and attitudes. Ministers and elders listened eagerly to their colleagues, anxious to hear reports from other congregations and presbyteries. When differences became evident they were usually handled without difficulty or argument. Throughout the discussion, the delegates demonstrated deep interest in the "rights and views of the non-represented Presbyteries." One or two speakers referred in passing to absent colleagues who acted too slowly, but by the time for the midday recess, the convention agreed on basic policy.

When the men returned to the church after dinner, the discussion resumed briefly. Soon, the Moderator appointed a committee to draw up the major legislation or recommendations of the meeting. Wilson selected eleven men for this task and John E. Adger was added by motion from the floor. Once again, the Carolina influence was evident, for half of this committee represented presbyteries in the Gamecock State. With this important business transacted, the Convention closed the session with prayer. This earlier adjournment allowed those who were still travel-weary a few hours for rest and gave the committee added time for composing its report. 20

The noise of a torrential downpour awakened the delegates on

20 Convention of Delegates, 3-6; Atlanta Southern Confederacy, August 18, 1861; SP, August 24, 1861; CP, August 31, 1861. Apparently North Mississippi Presbytery was not represented on the committee, the lone delegate from that body having just arrived. At least four presbyteries which had selected representatives were unrepresented.
Saturday morning. Although the rain delayed the morning session and the darkness brought a dreary atmosphere to the church, when Wilson called the meeting to order, the arrival of two more Corresponding Members was announced. Their arrival made the total representation at the meeting thirty-five men from twelve presbyteries and five synods. When the formalities of seating the new delegates had been completed, the Convention listened to a reading of the general committee's report on the "State of the Church." After reviewing the causes of the gathering in Atlanta, the report turned to the "Spring Resolutions" and attacked these Old School declarations with charges now familiar to most churchmen. According to the report, the Old School Assembly had assumed the "right of determining the political status of every member in every Church ... a right inherent in the State." This illegal assumption had then been compounded by the North's "threatened invasion" of Dixie -- an attack said to be of "barbaric character."

Since many Confederate congregations were not represented, the report asserted that the Convention "does not arrogate to itself the character or power of a Church Court," but planned to "conscientiously recommend" a course of action to the presbyteries. This action was justified by the desire to "expedite" the formation of a new assembly and the delegates carefully repeated their belief that they had authority only to serve as advisors to the local religious bodies. In the recommendations to the presbyteries, the report made no provisions for carrying on the work of education, publication, or domestic missions, on a coordinated basis, but it did recommend the temporary plan directed by J. Leighton Wilson. As for furthering the work among the slaves, the advice was bluntly plain: "The duty of evangelizing the slave population
rests upon the Church of Christ in the Southern States."

The report on the "State of the Church" concluded with five specific suggestions. First, the presbyteries should declare their continued adherence to the Confession of Faith, Form of Government, Book of Discipline, and Directory of Worship -- substituting the word "Confederate" for "United" in the proper places. Second, the presbyteries should appoint commissioners to an organizational assembly to convene at Augusta on December 4, with Ben Palmer to preach the opening sermon and Joseph R. Wilson the alternate. Also, John Gray and John H. Waddel of LaGrange College, would be joined by Joseph H. Jones, a noted physician of Augusta, on the Committee on Commissions. When the presbyteries declared their departure from the Northern Assembly, they should emphasize that they were not leaving their synods nor their "sister Presbyteries in the South." As a last suggestion, the presbyteries were requested to forward their records to synod for review, as in former years.

The portion of the report "On Foreign Missions" centered on plans to continue the work among the Indians of the west. The Convention readily agreed in recording its pleasure on hearing that "our red brethren sympathize so fully with the South and our Southern Zion." The delegates unanimously voted to continue the temporary organization which Wilson had founded and also indicated an interest in assisting the men in foreign fields who "went out from our Southern Churches and Presbyteries." In order to extend Wilson's efforts, the report pointed out to the Presbyteries that an annual fund of fifteen thousand dollars would be needed to carry on mission work among the Indians and perhaps four thousand to support those missionaries "in more distant fields."

At the end of this section, the committee recorded their admiration for
Wilson's accomplishments, appealed for contributions to foreign missions, and requested Wilson and another minister to visit the Indian Territory "without delay" and report their findings to the Augusta assembly.

In the last section of the report, the committee discussed "The War." They were careful to aver that this statement was no attempt to bend the political opinions of any communicant. In order to prevent any misinterpretation, the delegates agreed that the gathering had no "right to determine the political relations of individuals, or to solve for them political questions." But they insisted that the Convention has a "Country that it calls its own . . . and to it this Convention holds to be due our strongest affections and our greatest energies." The report continued with a bitter indictment of the war -- a "relentless, exterminating war" waged by a brutal enemy. At such a time and in such a struggle as this, the Convention felt it must call out the faithful of Zion. Across the hills and flatlands of Dixie echoed phrases reminiscent of Moses and Joshua: "Up, quit you like men be strong. Pour your treasures into the lap of your Country: throw your stout arms around her; let her feel the tendrils of enduring affection winding around her heart, and if need be, let your blood flow like water, if the ark of the covenant cannot be buoyed up, save upon a gory flood. Put your trust in God, and pray your Country through this dreadful war."

Only a few minor items remained before adjourning sine die. Churchmen voted to publish the Convention proceedings, distributing copies to ministers, stated clerks, and church papers. Then, after a brief word of appreciation for the "liberal hospitality" they had enjoyed in Atlanta, the delegates concluded the Convention with prayer. 21

21 Convention of Delegates, 6-14.
A number of men hurried back to their pastorates and secular pursuits, but some remained in Atlanta for the Sabbath and preached in most of the city's thirteen churches. These delegates were thrilled by the prospects for their church. They felt they had laid the foundation for a new organization in sound, orthodox Presbyterian fashion. A coordinated plan was now before the presbyteries -- a plan which did not require allegiance to political regime, but suggested the method of forming a new church. They recalled with pleasure that the deliberations had been harmonious and every important decision had been approved by unanimous vote.²²

All over the South, Presbyterians noted the accomplishments of the Atlanta Convention and dreamed of future growth and outreach. This was but the beginning of a mighty segment of God's church -- a brief meeting from which so many expected so much.

²² Atlanta Southern Confederacy, August 18, 1861; CP, August 31, 1861; NCP quoted in SP, September 14, 1861.
Chapter VI  Our cause . . . is God's

The Atlanta Convention had cleared the air. Now, there was a concrete plan of action before the congregations. Memphis Presbytery described the actions at Atlanta as "eminently wise, judicious and considerate," and spoke for most Presbyterians in the South. Even those who had foreseen a gloomy outcome to the session now commended its results.¹

Church papers reflected the positive reaction to the outcome of the discussions at Atlanta and quickly added their own endorsements. With this unity of opinion, perhaps the silent but lingering jealousy between the southeast and southwest had been buried forever. The only negative factor in the entire aftermath of the Convention was the concern of a few purists over matters involving church property, the continuance of synod relationships, and related topics.

Presbyteries which had not previously acted called special meetings to consider recommendations from other presbyteries and from the Convention. Like the units which preceeded them in leaving the Old School, these presbyteries described the actions of the Assembly with strong and phlegmatic words. Maury Presbytery in Tennessee called the "Spring Resolutions" "unkind, unjust, and tyrannical," while Orange Presbytery labelled them "unconstitutional, oppressive and schismatic." But Arkansas Presbytery summed up the opinions of all in the statement

¹ "Memphis Presbytery, 1857-1862," 298-303 (September 14, 1861); Rev. C. A. Stillman (Gainesville, Ala.) to Rev. A. A. Porter, August 28, 1861, and Dr. J. L. Kirkpatrick (Davidson College, N. C.) to Rev. A. A. Porter, September 23, 1861, MSS, Porter Letters.
that the decision of the Assembly "renders an union in the same church
... impossible." ²

There was almost complete unanimity in every meeting. Usually, after attaching the "Spring Resolutions," each presbytery declared its separation from the Assembly and concurred in the plan to hold an organizational assembly meeting at Augusta on December 4. These bodies next selected commissioners to the Augusta meeting, usually the most experienced men available, and commended the work already begun in foreign and domestic missions.

Presbyteries carefully asserted they were not breaking with their sister presbyteries nor with their synods, but merely leaving the General Assembly -- a kind of religious secession. In order to prevent any misunderstanding on this point, New Orleans Presbytery passed a "Declaratory Act," which explained there had been no break with the synod, nor any change in church polity. Most presbyteries merely substituted "Confederate" for "United" in various documents, for they were not complaining about Old School theology. When one minister claimed it was "not possible to extend the governmental union of a Church beyond the limits of a nation," he recorded the basic reason why most Confederate

² "Minutes of the Maury Presbytery, 1852-1865," 131-132 (September 28, 1861); "Orange Presbytery, 1852-1868," 137 (October 29, 1861); "Arkansas Presbytery, 1858-1869," 52-57 (October 24, 1861).
Presbyterians no longer wanted religious relations with their political rivals. 3

These Presbyterians now had no qualms about pledging their fortunes and faith to the Confederacy. In the rush to join a Southern Assembly, two presbyteries not connected with synods in the Confederacy joined in the break from the Old School. Potomac and Winchester Presbyteries, attached to the Synod of Baltimore but with most of their churches in Virginia, voted to leave the Northern Assembly and cast their lot with the South. 4

The recent activities of the seceding presbyteries pleased many Kentuckians, but they were almost cut off from communication with the South and were afraid to risk independent action. A few apparently had hoped to attend the Atlanta Convention, but were unable to find passage across the border. Through all the confused excitement Robert J.


Every Presbytery which met after the Atlanta Convention, agreed with the time and place of the Assembly, except West Hanover, which wanted the meeting delayed until 1862. In the Knoxville Presbytery, three men opposed leaving the Old School Assembly, and in Lexington Presbytery, one man dissented on a minor point of phraseology.

The presbyteries left the Old School on the following dates:
Montgomery, August 17; West Hanover, August 22; Roanoke, August 29;
Lexington, September 5; Knoxville, September 5; Potomac, September 12;
Creek Nation, September 14; Hopewell, September 20; East Mississippi, September 21; Maury, September 28; Harmony, October 3; Chickasaw, October 4; Brazos, October 5; Fayetteville, October 11; East Hanover, October 11; Winchester, October 12; Greenbrier, October 12; Eastern Texas, October 12; Western Texas, October 12; Central Texas, October 12; Louisiana, October 17; Mississippi, October 18; Tombeckbee, October 18; Ouachita, October 23; Arkansas, October 24; Orange, October 29; Indian, November 6; Georgia, November 8; Holston, November 23.

4 "Records of Winchester Presbytery, 1857-1868," 244-245 (October 12, 1861), MSS, Union Seminary; CP, September 28, 1861.
Breckinridge continued to defend the Union and soon it was evident that he had kept a majority of the church loyal to the North. No schism was possible in this situation, and Thomas A. Hoyt spoke for many when he wrote his friend Abner Porter "I am sick of this place," and added that he wished "for the glorious South, where I could breathe freely again." While some ministers resigned their pastorates and fled, others stayed behind, hoping to aid the Confederacy through the church courts.

Both Louisville and Transylvania Presbyteries condemned the "Spring Resolutions," but Louisville recorded a desire to "unite with all true conservative men in Our beloved church . . . in defending and preserving the purity, unity and prosperity" of the church. The Synod of Kentucky criticized the political nature of the Assembly's rulings, but announced that it "decidedly condemns the schism" promoted by the Southern presbyteries. With this action, the Breckinridge faction won the battle in Kentucky and left the opposition without aid or sustenance from Dixie.

While former Old School men in Dixie joined in advocating a new assembly, some optimists looked forward to a union of all Presbyterians in the Confederacy. The Synod of Nashville led the way as it unanimously declared: "We hail with pleasure the union of all the Presbyterian element in the Confederate States on the basis of our Confession of Faith, Form of Government, Larger and Shorter Catechisms." News of this

5 Rev. T. A. Hoyt (Louisville, Ky.) to Rev. A. A. Porter, June 18, 26, July 1, 24, August 7, 1861, MSS, Porter Letters; SF, July 2-August 17, 1861; CP, August 24, September 21, 1861; "Records of Louisville Presbytery, 1847-1865," 504-507 (August 30, 1861); "Minutes of Transylvania Presbytery, 1855-1863," 216 (September 13, 1861); Minutes of the Synod of Kentucky, 1861 (Np, nd), 8 (October 11, 1861).
declaration encouraged others to speak out. The powerful Synod of Virginia, though more reserved than the Tennesseans, still desired "a fraternal correspondence" and would give its "hearty approbation" if the projected Assembly should include these sister organizations. 6

Newspapers took up the crusade. In a series of articles in the True Witness and Sentinel, E. T. Baird, an influential Mississippi minister, advocated union with the United Synod, a suggestion which the Witness endorsed if there was a "thorough oneness of sentiment in regard to doctrine, polity, and policy." The Central Presbyterian and North Carolina Presbyterian desired religious union, especially with the United Synod, although the Carolina paper pointed out the "delicacy" of the matter. At the same time the Southern Presbyterian attempted to dodge this issue and mentioned theological differences which supposedly separated the groups. 7

Church leaders who once rejected reunion with the men who formed the United Synod, now optimistically considered the suggested merger. This was particularly true in Virginia, where men from Hampden-Sidney College and Union Seminary spoke out for integration of the two religious bodies and United Synod spokesmen responded with approval. Hanover Presbytery unanimously favored "fraternal correspondence between the two branches of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States," and the Synod of Virginia, which belonged to the United Synod, promptly seconded the plan. At the same time, this Synod inferred that predestination had

6 "Minutes of the Synod of Nashville, 1851-1867," 238-239 (October 19, 1861); Virginia Synod Minutes, 1848-1876, 238 (October 19, 1861).

7 TWS quoted in CP, November 16, 1861; NCP quoted in CO, December 19, 1861; SP, August 31, September 7, 1861; CP, November 2, 1861.
been guiding it toward formation of a Southern Presbyterian Church since it left the New School in 1857. Meanwhile, the *Christian Observer*, which carefully reflected United Synod sentiment, wholesheartedly endorsed the suggestions of cooperation and merger, and claimed that the causes of division among Southern churchmen emanated from the North.\(^8\)

War excitement seriously affected the United Synod. Fall meetings of presbyteries and synods were poorly attended, congregations in the mountain districts were split by "animosities and hard feelings," ministers were often without pay, and home missionaries were unable to maintain their work. Presbyteries cited the "general financial derangement of the State," "the unsettled state of our COUNTRY," and "the existing war," as reasons for failing to defeat Satan.

But the United Synod did not stop to complain. Instead, ministers and elders tried to carry on the work of the church. They were delighted with Hanover Presbytery's reception of Joseph Clay Stiles and awaited his stirring sermons. Resolutely, these United Synod members agreed with the Synod of Mississippi that the present sacrifices were for the South's "rights, her altars and her firesides." Like the former Old School presbyteries and synods, they assailed the "ruthless invader ... who threatens our cities and fields with destruction, our homes with desolation and our very sanctuaries with annihilation," and begged their communicants to consider the "Cause of our Country as the Cause of God."\(^9\)

---

8 CO, February 20, 1867; "Records of Hanover Presbytery, United Synod, 1858-1864," 135-136 (November 1, 1861), MSS, Union Seminary; "Minutes of the Synod of Virginia, United Synod, 1858-1863," 80-81, 88-91 (November 9, 1861), MSS, Union Seminary; CO, November 7-21, 1861.

9 CO, October 3-10, 1861; "Records of New River Presbytery, United Synod, 1858-1864," 94 (September 21, 1861); "Hanover Presbytery, United Synod, 1858-1864," 97 (May 9, 1861); "Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi, United Synod, 1845-1861," 255-258 (October 26, 1861).
Associate Reformed Presbyterians in the South had endured many hardships. Few accessions were reported, home missionaries had little if any pay, and religious indifference was common in many communities. Two missionaries who attempted to preach north of the Ohio River found it wise to leave immediately. Presbytery meetings had been poorly attended as had the classes at Erskine college and the Theological Seminary. When the A. R. P. Synod met at Bethel, Alabama, on September 16, only thirteen ministers and six elders were present to hear reports filled with discouragement due to the "deep Corrupting influence arising out of the state of publick affairs."

Still, the representatives considered the proposed merger, which the First A. R. P. Presbytery had already discussed. The Synod commissioners selected a delegate to represent them at the "contemplated meeting" in Augusta. This delegate, Henry Quigg, a South Carolina minister, favored a merger and believed many of his colleagues agreed with the Due West Telescope, which announced that if the union "can be brought about, no one will rejoice more than we will." But the Telescope recalled that A. R. P. insistance on the use of the Psalms had always been an immovable stumbling block and the A. R. P. Presbytery of Arkansas had recently requested Synod to publish a statement of the "superiority and exclusive use of the scripture Psalms in publick worship." Instead of fulfilling this request, however, the commissioners unanimously passed a series of resolutions on the state of the country, saying they did "heartily endorse the cause of the Southern Confederacy and that we will
sustain it with all the powers which God had put within our reach."  

On every hand, ministers defended the battle for Southern independence. "The Defense of our Country a Christian Duty," was a typical sermon topic. Laymen and ministers pointed to the success of Confederate military forces as proof of God's aid. To consider that the North might ever defeat such a blessed nation was unthinkable and a few churchmen even discussed whether it was proper to pray for "the destruction of our enemies."

Old men wished they were young enough to take the field and drive out the villainous Yankee. Ladies continued to sew for departing soldiers, as in the case of the "Military Aid Society" for the First Church in Memphis which helped outfit Colonel Nathan Bedford Forrest's unit before it left for the front. Congregations invested their funds in Confederate bonds and men like the patriarchal George Howe reminded the citizens of the proud heritage they had to uphold. In the Confederate Congress in Richmond, Moses Hoye, the unofficial senate chaplain, on Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens' invitation reminded the legislators of the omniscience and omnipresence of God in the struggle to win independence for the South.  

As they zealously tried to strengthen their nation, these religious leaders assailed those suspected of withholding support from the Confederacy.

---

10 "Minutes of First Presbytery of Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of the South, 1834-1875," 375-376 (September 13, 1861); 22, October 12, 1861; DWT quoted in CO, December 5, 1861; "Associate Reformed Synod, 1860-1874," 45-78 (September 16-17, 1861).

11 OR, August 10; Rev. William P. Harrison (Whitney, Ga.) to Rev. A. A. Porter, August 22, 1861, M33, Porter Letters; Fry (ed.), McElhenny, 169-172; Memphis Daily Appeal, September 15, 1861; Richmond Enquirer (semi-weekly), July 26, 1861; George Howe, The Scotch-Irish... A Centennial Discourse.... (Columbia, S. C., 1861); Wells, Presbyterian Worthies, 115.
This pressure drove a number of ministers out of the South and an almost equal number came to the South from the United States. Nonconformists paid a high price for their courage. In Memphis, R. C. Grundy at the Second Church, spoke out in opposition to the Atlanta Convention and accusations of his Unitism wrecked his congregation, forcing him to look elsewhere for a pastorate. A similar situation occurred at the Second Church in Nashville, East Tennessee, always firm in a course of independent action, became a dark and bloody ground. Congregations divided and ministers fled the area — some protesting that they were "not willing to bow the knee to treason, at present the ruling divinity in the Southern States." At the same time, a Knoxville minister was charged with having "boasted . . . that Jesus Christ was a Southerner . . . and so were His apostles, except Judas, whom he denounced a Northern man!"\(^{12}\)

In areas beyond Confederate control, men who sympathized with the South faced trying times. W. A. Scott, minister to what he termed an "overflowing congregation" in San Francisco, resigned his pastorate after mob violence threatened his life when he inferred pro-Southern sympathies in his sermons. In Missouri, a few ministers attempted to remain silent on the issues of the day and thus aroused public sentiment against themselves. Here, as in Kentucky and East Tennessee, churchmen were

\(^{12}\) CO, August 15, 1861; Richard Smith (Cincinnati, Ohio) to Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, November 23, 1861, MSS, Breckinridge Papers; Avery (ed.), "Second Church of Nashville," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, XI (1952), 356; Edwin J. Pest, "New Providence Church," East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, XXX (1958), 75-95; Cincinnati Presbyterian, June 13, 1861; Brownlow, Sketches of Secession, 143; Evidence has been found that at least thirteen ministers left the Confederacy and twelve came into it in the period between the Old School Assembly and the first Confederate Assembly at Augusta.
painfully divided. One pastor, viewing this situation, sadly commented, "we are no doubt to have bloody work in Missouri." 13

In spite of much attention to loyalty, church organizational problems, and statements of policy, the soldiers in the field still were the center of interest. Sermons to departing units continued to emphasize that "God himself will defend the right," and ministers reminded the men: "It is your homes and firesides you go to protect. Wives, mothers and sisters, are now looking to you to defend them against a merciless enemy." 14

Although the near holiday atmosphere of the army in the early weeks of the war curtailed the chaplains' work, they still were enthusiastic. "I have found my vocation at last," wrote a man of the cloth from Camp Cobb near Richmond, who joyed in his opportunity to save souls among the men who would save the land. Civilians at home were equally enthusiastic in their desire to assist the soldiers. Money poured in to the church papers to send religious reading materials to the army. Collections from entire congregations as well as "the vacation earnings of a little girl with her needle" went to buy tracts and Testaments, and ladies' organizations sent countless items to the


14 John E. DuBose, [ Speech on / ] Capt. Parkhill's Company, "The Howell Guards," on the Eve of their Departure for the Seat of the War, August 26, 1861 ... (Tallahassee, 1861). Information has been found which indicates that at least thirty-one Presbyterian ministers served as chaplains by the end of 1861, either with or without official appointments.
men at the front. 15

By the beginning of winter, much of the earlier enthusiasm began
to wane. Chaplains complained more about the lack of cooperation from
officers and of the hindrance of Sunday martial activities. When Cabney
left his chaplaincy to return to Union Seminary, he complained about the
lack of recognition of the religious leaders in the army. Denominational
rivalry also discouraged some ministers who sought to bring the Gospel
to the army. When one Georgia private requested permission to miss the
religious services because "it was against his conscience to listen to
any but a Hardshell Baptist, his colonel reminded him that perhaps he
might be similarly excused "at the portals of heaven in the same way."

Preaching in the camps was exhausting. Moses Hope found himself
preaching six sermons each week as he served the "Camp of Instruction"
outside Richmond, his regular pastorate and the Confederate Congress.
As the war's glamor faded, donations for soldiers' reading materials
dropped off sharply. Too, the war was becoming less of a summer campaign
and much more of a fight to the finish. Presbyteries learned of the
death of candidates, deacons, and honored elders. Men who had marched
away in the spring wrote him that the romance of the war was gone. "It

15 Rev. William Flinn (Camp Cobb near Richmond, Va.) to Rev. A. A. Porter,
August 22, 1861, and Rev. E. P. Crane (near Pensacola, Fla.) to Rev. A.
A. Porter, May 4, 1861, MSS, Porter Letters; Rev. Charles W. Lane (Talmadge,
Ga.) to Rev. A. A. Porter, August 18, 1861, MSS, Porter Letters; Minutes
of the Synod of Alabama, 1861-1862." 521 (October 26, 1861).

The ladies of the "Soldier's Aid Society" of Rocky River Church,
Cabarrus County, North Carolina, sent the following items to state troops
in Virginia: "Hatresses, slippers, comforter coverlets, blankets, sheets,
bolster cases and ticking, pillow cases and ticking, handkerchiefs, caps
and lint, shirts, pants, and drawers, woolen socks, towels, bed ticking,
flannel shirts, and drawers, vines - black berry, cherry, and grape,
salad, soap, rice, mustard and ginger, pulverized red pepper, dried
fruit, corn starch, slippery elm, candles, tomato catsup, etc., etc."
MSS, October 10, 1861.
may be glorious to fight and conquer... But to be wounded, to swell
and fester, to lie rotting, and stinking, and worn eaten, loathsome to
yourself and to your friends! this is horrid." 16

For the churches, the great problem brought on by the war was the
almost total absorption of the people in the effort to defend the country.
Debts piled up. Candidates were without funds to continue ministerial
studies. Supply pastors were unable to keep their assignments. The
number of revivals declined very sharply and only six new congregations
were formed during the last half of the year. 17

As communists gave more and more of the things of the Lord to
Caesar, prophets cried out to awaken the faithful. Florida Presbytery
discussed "the low state of religion in our country," and in Texas and
Arkansas churchmen sadly announced that "the wars of Zion mourn." The
future of the church was gloomy. People were neglecting the church to
aid the nation. With so many empty pews in the sanctuaries, one Con-
federate elder could only ask: "How can we expect a blessing unless we
pray for it?" At the same time, the Sabbath no longer held a sacred
and solemn place in the week's activities, causing pastors to ponder
the effects of Sunday parades, rail delivery, and even gold mining on
the Lord's Day. 18

---

16 C2, November 23, 1861; Rev. R. L. Dalley (Richmond, Va.) to wife,
September 5, 1861, MSS, Charles Dalley Papers; Rev. T. D. Haig (Richmond,
Va.) to wife, August 26, 1861, MSS, Manuscript Collection, University of
Virginia; Rev. William Flinn (Camp Cobb near Richmond, Va.) to Rev. A.
A. Porter, August 3, 1861, MSS, Porter Letters.

17 Reports have been found of only 177 converts in thirteen revivals
during the last half of the year.

18 "Florida Presbytery, 1860-1875," 35 (October 31, 1861); SE, July 27,
October 5, 1861; S. A. Armey Diary, III, 25 (October 5, 1861), MSS,
Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; "Associate
Reformed Synod, 1860-1874," 53, 63-64 (September 16-17, 1861); "First
Presbytery, A. E. P., 1834-1875," 379-380 (September 13, 1861).
As the fighting continued, death made its mournful mark on families. Funeral sermons became a painfully common duty for shepherds of religious flocks, who often turned to the account of the raising of Lazarus to comfort the mourners. Here they pointed to the power of faith — power even to overcome death. In the midst of death's agony, the followers of the Gospel could rely on Him who judged all mankind to rescue His own. The faithful would be saved. 19

When college doors opened for the fall semester, institutions of learning realized the impact of war. Not only were they faced with greatly reduced donations and financial resources, but a few patriots favored closing the schools for the duration so the young men might fight for freedom. To prevent such an educational calamity, Dabney and his friend, William H. McCaffey of the University of Virginia, wrote a public letter advising the youths they would "best display their patriotism and courage, by laying aside the musket, . . . and coming back to their studies." Yet, most young men preferred fighting Yankees to studying. 20

Two Presbyterian colleges did not open in the fall of 1861. Erskine College, operated by the Associate Reformed Synod, had no students and Austin College, the major source of ministers for the Texas frontier, "closed for the coming year or during the war" because of financial difficulties. Many of the other schools announced the addition of


20 "Lexington Presbytery, 1842-1863," 233 (September 6, 1861); C. W. Dabney (no place) to Rev. R. L. Dabney, October 10, 1861, and Rev. James Morrison (Lexington, Va.) to Rev. R. L. Dabney, October 29, 1861, M33, Charles Dabney Papers; 52, October 19, 1861.
instruction in military tactics and professed to have faculties of unquestioned Confederate patriotism. Both Davidson and Stewart Colleges organized preparatory departments to handle the younger men and to bring in additional revenue. Monetary pressures produced discussions of possible merger of Oakland and LaGrange Colleges. With expenses increased and income reduced, particularly at Oglethorpe, only Davidson was free of financial worries. With some faculty members in the army and senior classes either completely absent or small, administrators wondered if the future leaders of the South would get their training only in battle. Only Hampden-Sidney escaped a great drop in numbers, for President Atkinson and his paroled warriors were back in class after a short summer of campaigning in Western Virginia.  

When Union Seminary opened in the fall, the faculty greeted fourteen divinity students. With Sabney back from the army, all Seminary funds invested in Confederate bonds and state banks, control of the institution assumed by the Synod of Virginia, and a location in a "retired, quiet and healthy place," a year of fruitful study was expected. Columbia Seminary had even greater hopes, for twenty men were ready for study and Thornwell had returned with "fresh energy and spirit." Also, James Woodrow assumed the chair of "Perkins Professor of Natural Science in Connection with Revelation," and in a lengthy inaugural sermon, he carefully explained that science and religion did not conflict: "I

21 "Associate Reformed Synod, 1860-1874," 177-178 (September 20, 1865); "Minutes of Austin College Trustees," 123-126 (June 28, August 15, 1861); 73, July 6, August 3, 31, September 14, October 19, 1861; Cooper, **Southwestern**, 28; "Minutes of the Synod of Memphis, 1857-1869," 132-136 (October 19, 1861); Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi (Jackson, Miss., 1860), 479; October 26, 1861; Minutes of the Synod of Georgia, 1861 (No. nd), 30-33 (November 22, 1861); Morrison, Hampden-Sidney Board Minutes, 149 (August 6, 1861); 22, September 14, 1861.
confess myself unable to understand how a proposition can be theologically true and scientifically false. . . . Let the church show herself the patroness of learning in everything . . . and let her never be subjected . . . to the charge that she fears the light."

In the chaos of the war, church papers suffered as employees left for the front, newsprint became scarce, costs went up and subscription lists down. No Presbyterian paper folded, but at least one projected publication never got into print. Some struggled along, hoping for stronger support from paying customers, looking for sure sources of newsprint, and promising support for the Confederacy. Editors eagerly encouraged the campaign to provide religious literature for the army and dotted their front pages with articles for the soldiers. They repeatedly prodded readers to give more money to send papers to the front and in some instances even sent them at their own expense.

The Southern Presbyterian continued as the most outspoken Presbyterian weekly and even was said to be "the grave and dignified organ of Presbyterianism in Secessiondom." Editor Abner Porter still attracted the commendations of readers throughout the Southeast. He and Richmond McInnis of the True Witness and Sentinel hotly debated the wisdom of Southern attendance at the General Assembly and then questioned the

22 "Union Seminary Faculty Records, 1859-1892," 18-23 (September 9, September 16, 1861); C2, October 3, 1861; CF, August 24, 1861; SE, September 21, 1861; James Woodrow, An Address delivered at the Inauguration of the Perkins Professor of Natural Science in Connection with Revelation . . . . (Columbia, S. C., 1862). For a view of life at Columbia Seminary at this time, see Jacobs (ed.), Diary of Jacobs, 92-95.

23 Henry E. Paine, a Mississippi minister, planned to issue the Southern Presbyterian Preacher as a monthly pamphlet of some thirty pages. He intended the publication "to furnish our vacant and destitute churches" with at least three original sermons per issue and had enlisted the support of some of the leading men in the denomination. CF, March 9, 1861; TNS, February 22, March 16, 1861; NCP, March 2, 1861; SE, February 23, 1861.
editorial abilities of each other. Meanwhile, James H. McNeill became editor of the *North Carolina Presbyterian* upon the death of his brother, and soon found his duties included "editor, proofreader, clerk, mailer and everything else except printer." McNeill, a recent refugee from New Jersey, attempted to prevent further subscription losses and head off "embarrassments growing out of the derangement and scarcity of circulating medium," while editor William Brown of the *Central Presbyterian* announced his paper had regained many of its earlier losses in circulation. But the *Virginia* paper's income was still "diminished" and Brown had to print a few issues on half sheets.24

For the *Christian Observer*, the period after the end of communication between the Union and the Confederacy was quite climactic. Since January, 1861, editor Amasa Converse had dated his paper at Philadelphia, where it was published, and at Richmond, where his son, F. Bartlett Converse, served as associate editor. By mid-June, the *Observer* lost contact with Southern subscribers and soon felt the loss of their contributions, while local political pressure increased. In July 25, Converse labelled the battle at Manassas a disaster and the following week he justified peaceful secession, as he omitted the Richmond dateline. After a few numbers included letters containing guarded Southern sympathies and the issue of August 22 gently criticized the war itself, Union officials acted quickly. A Federal marshall seized the paper, saying he was ordered to confiscate "the property of those who give aid and

---

comfort to insurgents in rebellion against the government."

Philadelphia papers endorsed the seizure and Southern publications soundly condemned the Federal action, while editor Converse made his way to Richmond. There he printed an issue on September 19, describing the events in Philadelphia and announcing his plans to continue his paper in the Confederate Capitol. United Synod presbyteries and synods quickly showered this announcement with praise and the other Presbyterian papers in the Confederacy commended Amasa Converse as a loyal son of the South. Soon, he faced the same problems as other editors — shortages of paper, money, and subscribers — but his enthusiastic belief in the success of battle and confidence in the Observer's future overshadowed all prospective handicaps.25

The other journalistic ventures of churchmen showed mixed results. The Southern Presbyterian Review was still not able to escape a growing debt, but the editors determined "to make this Review a worthy representative of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America," and announced a plan to "make some pecuniary compensation to all our collaborators." Meanwhile, the first issue of Our Paper, intended for the use of children in Sunday Schools, came off the presses of the True Witness and Sentinel in New Orleans. The Witness called for formation of a publication agency to fill the literary needs of the churches, but the results were disappointing when presbyteries asked congregations for contributions to begin such a work. With the attention and finances of the faithful concentrated on the men in the lines, little money was given

25 GC, June 20 - August 22, September 19, October 2 - November 21, 1861; Savannah Morning News, August 29, 1861; CF, September 21, 1861; Stroupe, Religious Press, 53-64.
to aid those left at home. Yet, when Bible societies were formed, Presbyterians gave them their eager endorsement and did all in their power to aid these groups. They had particular praise for the Evangelical Tract Society of Petersburg, Virginia, and awaited formation of a Bible Society in the Confederacy. 26

As Presbyterians sought to enlist new recruits for the work they called Domestic Missions, they found few people interested either in listening to a home missionary or contributing to his support. Only Robert Nall, who conducted revivals all over Alabama, was able to make many conversions in the last half of the year. Elsewhere, church courts noted sadly that funds were insufficient to meet the requests for aid. Evangelists who were able to continue their preaching discovered, along with the home missionary of Concord Presbytery in North Carolina, that "the deep, all-pervading interest in war-news, and in great questions connected with the war, would not prepare men to hear the truth attentively, or to feel it savingly."

In such a frustrating position, most presbyteries planned to do what they could on a local basis. The Southwestern Advisory Committee continued evangelism in the lower Mississippi Valley and proposed to do so until it turned control of thirty-one missionaries and its funds over to the General Assembly in Augusta. Although there was enough cash to meet the Committee's needs, empty pulpits illustrated the crying need

26 SF, XIV (1861-1862), inside front and outside back cover; CR, August 3, 24, 1861; TNS quoted in CR, October 17, 1861; North Carolina Synod, 1861, (November 2, 1861); SF, October 12, 1861.
for money to send more evangelists into the waste places. 27

At first, contributions for foreign missions were very small, not only because of the war but also because many people were unsure of the political views of the foreign missionaries. Then, when J. Leighton Wilson announced the formation of a temporary committee to handle the work of converting the heathen, donations increased rapidly. Between the time of his first solicitation in June and the end of the year, he collected more than twelve thousand dollars, which allowed him to send cash to the men and women serving the Indians and also to finance the visit to the Indian Territory for himself and Charlton Wilson, which the Convention had ordered.

When he reached the Nations, he found they had been hard hit by the effects of sectional hostility. In conversations with the missionaries, he learned that the Indian and Creek Nation Presbyteries had voted to leave the Old School and the tribes had signed treaties with the Confederate government. While braves prepared to fight for the South on the strange soil of far-distant fields, the deadly impact of war struck the lands north of the Red River. Tullahassee Mission had been seized by Creeks who feared it might fall into enemy hands. Few of the schools were able to reopen in the fall, because of inadequate funds and the general derangement of life. Missionaries watched their students leave and noted what a sad sight it was, "to see them with their little bundles

27 "East Alabama Presbytery, 1856-1866," 296-297 (October 17, 1861); "Nashville Synod, 1851-1867," 228-229 (October 12, 1861); John Berkley Grimball Diary, 94 (December 2, 1861), MSS, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; "Concord Presbytery, 1855-1862," 743-744 (September 23, 1861); Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America ... 1861 (Augusta, 1861), 49-50.
of clothes starting homewards on foot, as with sorrowful countenances they bid farewell."

Since the first of the year, two missionaries had died and some fled to the North, as Federal troops evacuated the entire area south of Kansas. In the disorder that followed, "border ruffians" often attempted to force both Indians and missionaries to change their political opinions. In this situation, the three veteran apostles, Cyrus Kingsbury, R. M. Loughridge, and Cyrus Byington, spoke out for the Confederacy and their great prestige attracted many undecided natives to the Southern cause. After he talked with these men, Wilson believed that the remaining missionaries were all trusted "secessionists." Such men as Loughridge, who proudly testified that he was a Southerner "by birth, education, and sympathies," could be relied upon to battle Satan, the Union, and "evil-disposed white men."

The situation in the Confederate West was not different from the rest of the South. When the church fathers gathered for their fall meetings, they found "much to call for mourning." A year that opened so hopefully was ending with churches and communicants bowed down by the weight of care and the noise of battle. In Georgia, the patriarchs cried out, "We have to mourn over the death of spiritual influences, and an alarming

28 Rev. Thomas A. DeVeaux (Lowndesboro, Ala.) to Rev. A. A. Porter, July 30, 1861, MSS, Porter Letters; "Minutes of the Indian Presbytery, 1860-
1875," 23-24 (September 14, 1861); CP, November 2, 1861; Virginia F. Lauderdale, "Tullahassee Mission," C of C, XXVI (1842-1849), 291-293; Loughridge, "Work Among the Creek Indians," 19-20. Monthly reports of donations to the benevolence committees appeared in the religious weeklies throughout the war.

tendency to a pervading secularism." There was "little of interest to report" in much of Alabama, and Mississippi Presbytery noted with regret, "We have nothing cheering or hopeful to relate."

Perhaps the only ray of hope the church fathers could find was the indication that people were realizing a need for "the all-controlling providence of God." A sense of peril was bringing the faithful ever closer to the Lord. Had He not promised to aid the faithful? Already, they believed, "when the enemy had come in like a cloud, the spirit of the Lord has lifted up a standard against them."

These people also believed God had continued to bless their work with the Negroes — a labor of love which continued to show a rich harvest. Presbyteries and synods recorded the cheering news of another year of devoted service to the slaves. The Synod of South Carolina was deeply proud that members spent more time and energy than usual in preaching to the slaves — "of one blood with us, the companions of our children, the support of our riper years, the affectionate ministers of our dying couch, pilgrims with us to the same awful eternity, and with whom sooner or later we must be confronted at the tremendous bar of God."

Prophets asserted that a Divine Spirit led the saints out of the Old School and onto the threshold of a new church. "We were wounded in the house of our friends," recorded the South Carolinians, but they could forgive and they begged, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what

30 "East Alabama Presbytery, 1856-1867," 302 (October 19, 1861); Synod of Georgia, 1861, 18-19 (November 23, 1861); "Tuscumbia Presbytery, 1849-1868," 315-316 (September 14, 1861); "Minutes of the Mississippi Presbytery, 1861-1877," 10 (October 18, 1861); Virginia Synod Minutes, 1862-1876, 290 (October 19, 1861); "Arkansas Synod, 1352-1873," 122-149 (October 24, 1861).
they do." When they reviewed the reasons for organization of a new branch of Christendom, church fathers again mentioned the hated Spring Resolutions, but now, they usually cited the division of the nation as the basic justification. The Synod of Virginia argued that a national church "best promotes the convenience and usefulness" of the spread of the Gospel. James A. Lyon, the strong-willed Mississippian, contended that "God, in His mysterious providence, had decreed that we, too, should be divided . . . by the parrying asunder of the State." It was the Synod of South Carolina, though, which considered causation in greatest detail. After granting the "Spring Resolutions" the role of precipitating factor, the Synod argued:

We hold that it is wise and proper that church organizations should be determined by national lines. There is a wide difference betwixt schism and separation. . . . Churches, however, may be distinct and separate, and yet perfectly at one in every principle of faith and order. The advantages are so obvious in having a complete and independent Church in every Christian nation, that the plan has been universally adopted in the States of Christendom. . . . On these grounds, we think that it would have been our duty, independently of any divided measures of the old Assembly to set up for ourselves."31

Church bodies once more registered their complete confidence in the Confederacy. In an address to all congregations in the state, the Synod of North Carolina called for greater devotion to the war effort and the battle for freedom, saying "We have no fears of the final issue, for the Lord of hosts is with us." For those who might remain in doubt, the Synod added: "We firmly believe that the smile of God is upon our country and our Churches. . . . Our cause. . . . is God's." In a similar

31 "South Carolina Synod, 1858-1861," 114-122 (November 9, 1861); "Nashville Synod, 1851-1867," 234-237 (October 13, 1861); Virginia Synod Minutes, 1343-1376, 285-286 (October 18, 1861); James A. Lyon, "The General Assembly at Augusta," SPR, XIV (1861-1862), 618.
address, the Synod of Virginia begged for increased devotion to the church and to the nation the church honored.

Prayer meetings "in behalf of the Country and the Army" were frequent and well attended, although few men were at home. Churchmen thanked the Lord for "raising up for us a Chief Magistrate and other Officers . . . and a noble army for our defense." When President Davis called for a second national fast day on November 15, ministers once more mounted the towers of Zion to arouse the saint-hearted and to encourage the frightened. In Richmond, Charles H. Read argued "The Lawfulness of Defensive War" and Thomas Vernor Moore called on the nation to bow before God and rely on the omnipotence of His Hand. If they doubted The Almighty and the effects of defeat, they must be aware of the threat of men killed, "women dishonored before our eyes," homes and fields laid waste. Although the Associate Reformed Synod earlier had begged "that the Counsel of our enemies may be turned to foolishness," now churchmen asked for defense of all that was holy and sacred. Later, when North Carolina observed a day of thanksgiving, Jacob Henry Smith told his congregation in Greensboro that this was the battle of the ages. "The hope of Protestant civilization, and pure gospel christianity depend, under God, upon the success of the Southern cause. . . . This battle is not ours, it is God's, it is Christ's, and it is the Church's, it is liberty's, it is the world's."32

32 Minutes of the Synod of North Carolina, 1861 (Fayetteville, 1862), 20-24 (November 2, 1861); CP, November 2, 1861; Roanoke Presbytery, 1859-1873," 62-64 (August 30, 1861); CO, December 12, 1861; Thomas V. Moore, God Our Refuge and Strength in This War . . . (Richmond, 1861); "Associate Reformed Synod, 1860-1874," 80-81 (September 17, 1861); Jacob Henry Smith, A Sermon delivered at Greensboro, N. C. . . . on the 5th of December, 1861 . . . (Greensboro, 1862).
Even feeble health could not prevent James Henley Thornwell from planning the new church of Zion. He wrote a constant stream of letters, encouraging and prodding churchmen to move rapidly in their preparations for the Augusta meeting. Much to his regret, his health had forced him to resign his pastorate in Columbia, but he was still ready to serve the church and to teach the young seminarians. At the meeting of the Synod of South Carolina, he dominated the proceedings and directed the important decisions of the body. Not only did he author the statement which justified a new church along national lines, but in "an informal meeting of the members of the Synod," he offered resolutions which stated the unqualified support of Presbyterian ministers and elders for the Confederacy, condemned the war being waged by the Union, and pledged their unyielding allegiance to the Southern nation.33

Like most Presbyterians in Dixie, Thornwell eagerly awaited the gathering of commissioners in Augusta. Many churchmen offered suggestions and plans for organizational policy. Synods gave freely of their advice. Every group wanted the various agencies of the church located in different cities and strictly limited in their authority, for the centralization of power in the Old School Boards had long rankled many Southerners. Nashville, New Orleans, and Richmond, wanted the publication committee and most synods, especially South Carolina and Georgia, wanted home missions left to local direction.34

33 Rev. J. H. Thornwell (Columbia, S. C.) to E. Anderson, October 14, 1861, MSS, Anderson-Thornwell Papers; Palmer, Thornwell, 485-512; "South Carolina Synod, 1858-1861," 112-119, 125 (November 9, 1861). These resolutions were later disapproved by the Moderator of the General Assembly.

34 "Nashville Synod, 1851-1867," 230 (October 17, 1861); Mississippi Synod, 478 (October 26, 1861); Virginia Synod Minutes, 1858-1876, 255-287 (October 15, 1861); "South Carolina Synod, 1858-1861," 116-117 (November 9, 1861); Georgia Synod, 1861, 13-14 (November 23, 1861).
No one recorded any doubts about the success of the Augusta gathering, but church papers asked everyone to pray for the success of the deliberations. Some congregations responded with special prayer services in behalf of the delegates as they left for the Georgia city. Most men believed "there will be nothing but harmonious action within our bounds" and thought "the Lord will meet with them in the ... Assembly." The Synod of Nashville hoped the harmony would be so strong that a union "for all the branches of the great Presbyterian family" would be formed.  

Most of the luminaries of the church planned to participate in the Assembly and awaited its beginning. In New Orleans, Ben Palmer prepared a sermon which he hoped would set the goals of the new church. Thornwell labored over declarations of policy and theology, while Charles Colcock Jones hoped the commissioners would not forget the importance of uplifting the colored members of the congregations. In Augusta, Joseph R. Wilson, minister of the host church, and Joseph Jones, son of the "Apostle to the Slaves" and local member of the "Committee on Commissions," struggled with the realistic problems of housing the visitors. Wilson proudly announced that commissioners would be met at the railroad station and taken to the Southern States Hotel on State Street, where the local committee on arrangements would take them to their quarters. Not only did he inform the delegates that "no commissioner shall be at any

35 CP, November 30, 1861; CP, November 9, 23, 1861; Rev. E. T. Baird (Carrollton, Miss.) to Rev. A. A. Porter, November 4, 1861, MSS, Porter Letters; Rev. James Morrison (Lexington, Va.) to Mrs. A. D. Catney, November 17, 1861, MSS, Charles Catney Papers.
expense for his personal accommodation," after reaching Augusta, but he also promised to "secure entertainment for those strangers" who might visit the assembly.  

36 CP, November 23, 1861.
Chapter VII "Let us build her towers. . . ."

According to the official announcement of the Assembly in Augusta, commissioners from all the Confederate States were to meet "at the request of a majority of the Presbyteries, in their name, and by their authority." Throughout the South, churchmen anxiously awaited the first Wednesday in December. Thornwell continued his organizational planning, while in Virginia, the aged Francis McFarland threshed his wheat early, and John Waddel planned his lectures at LaGrange College near Memphis so he would be able to make the journey to Augusta. Joseph E. Wilson of the host church was perhaps most busy. He arranged free passage home for all commissioners on the railroads of the Confederacy, and along with Joseph Jones, completed lists of church members who consented to house and feed visiting commissioners. Wilson, always at ease in the pulpit, still had time to preach a sermon which one listener called a "religious gem" on the Sunday preceding the Assembly.¹

None of the commissioners wanted to miss any of the discussions, so they left their homes in plenty of time to reach Augusta by December 4. Beyond the Mississippi, Robert M. Loughridge and Cyrus Kingsbury rode away from the Indian Nations in mid-November. Rufus Bailey headed overland from Texas while most commissioners in the South Atlantic states checked railroad routes to the Georgia city.

A number of ministers and elders left Richmond on Saturday, although some clergymen remained to deliver their Sabbath sermons. It

¹ SP, November 9, 1861; CP, October 26, 1861; A. M. Fraser, "Dr. Thornwell as an Ecclesiologist," in Centennial Addresses . . . Comemorating the Birth of James Henley Thornwell (Spartanburg, S. C., 1913), 45; McFarland Diary, November 27, 1861; CP, November 28, 1861; Ella Thomas Journals, III, 41 (December 1, 1861).
each stop, a few old friends and acquaintances got on the cars and conversations soon centered on the expected events in Augusta. After pausing in Greensboro, North Carolina, long enough to hear an impressive sermon by Jacob Henry Smith, the commissioners were rolling across South Carolina when their car jumped the tracks. Although the car suffered considerable damage, no one was injured and the travelers reached Columbia on Monday afternoon and spent Monday night in conversation with Thornwell and his guest, James A. Lyon.  

As the delegations arrived in Augusta on Tuesday, members of the local congregation met each train and carried the visitors first to the Southern States Hotel and then to various private homes. At the hotel, church leaders joined in recalling pleasant times in more peaceful days. The city these visitors saw was one of the more prosperous and comfortable cities of the Confederacy. With a population exceeding fifteen thousand, Augusta had the beginnings of industry, a long and proud heritage, and a strong belief in its future growth. Situated on the south bank of the Savannah River at the fall line, it was a city of quiet streets, stately trees and tended gardens.

Near the center of town, a tall white spire marked the Presbyterian Church. A constant stream of old friends and visitors frequented the comfortable brick manse across from this sanctuary's spacious and shady square — asking directions and planning the next day's opening session. Although these churchmen were keenly interested in the coming discussions, they were deeply concerned over the recent news of Federal seizure of

---

two Confederate ambassadors while they were on route to Europe on board a British steamer. Even ministers and elders wondered if this would lead to war between Great Britain and the United States. 3

Each train brought more Presbyterian leaders to Augusta. Perhaps the two most important figures not present were Robert L. Dabney, ill with "camp fever," and Moses Hoge, but Dabney still managed to contribute his advice on matters of organization and policy. Newspapers were ready to report the proceedings fully with editors of the Central Presbyterian, True Witness and Sentinel, and Southern Presbyterian, in attendance.

Many daily papers arranged for commissioners to cover the proceedings, while Eli Sharpe and Company, owners of the Southern, announced plans to publish the full proceedings of the Assembly in the Assembly Reporter. In order to keep their promise of a "full and accurate report," and a "complete and exact report of all that may be said and done," they hired William Plumer Jacobs, a Columbia Seminary student, whom they described as a "competent short-hand reporter." 4

Early on the morning of December 4, William Brown and Joseph R. Wilson visited Francis McFarland and told him of "a plan that . . . had been agreed upon by some" - McFarland did not know whom - that he would be selected to preside over the Assembly until permanent officers were elected. At that time, they suggested he nominate Ben Palmer as Moderator. 5

---


4 Mrs. R. L. Dabney (Union Seminary, Va.) to Rev. Francis McFarland, December 2, 1861, MSS, Francis McFarland Papers, Manuscripts Collection, University of Virginia; Hoge, Moses Hoge, 150-151; Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel (daily), December 5, 1861; 37, November 30, 1861.

5 McFarland Diary, December 4, 1861.
At eleven o'clock, commissioners, towns people, and visitors, crowded into the attractive church for the opening of the Assembly. John N. Waddel spoke first. "It will not, I trust be regarded as an unwarrantable liberty in me, inasmuch as I have been one of the Committee to receive the Commissions . . . if I rise for the purpose of proposing a presiding officer." After a few words of introduction, he nominated McFarland, whom he described as "one in every way suited to fill the high office -- one venerable and respected, both on account of his age and his long and venerable services to the Church." Quickly, the commissioners selected the Virginian by acclamation and he walked slowly to the pulpit.

This aged but energetic and wise man, his long white hair indicating his seventy-three years, had served as Moderator of the Old School Assembly in 1856 and now was honored again by his colleagues. He thanked the commissioners for this honor, and then indicated that although custom dictated that the moderator of most recent service should preach the opening sermon, he preferred that this honor be accorded Palmer, as a number of presbyteries had suggested this. Again, the commissioners agreed by acclamation, and while the brilliant minister of the First Church in New Orleans collected his sermon notes, the choir sang an anthem of stirring beauty. Then, Palmer gave a brief invocation followed by congregational singing and prayer.\(^6\)

As he faced the audience, this small minister noted the solemnity of the occasion and commented: "Any one of us might well shrink from the

---

\(^6\) *Va.,* 1861, 5-6; 20, December 10, 1861; *Ella Thomas Journals,* III, 45 (December 13, 1861). Complete and detailed accounts of the proceedings of the Assembly are in the *Assembly Reporter,* *Central Presbyterian,* *Southern Presbyterian,* and *Christian Observer,* during December, 1861, and January, 1862.
responsibility of uttering the first words which are to be spoken here."

Then, after asking for Divine blessing on his remarks, he read the last words of the first chapter of Ephesians as his text: "And gave Him to be head over all things to the Church; which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all."

Although he usually spoke only from notes, Palmer had written this sermon out in full. With every skill at his command, he attempted to demonstrate the position of Christ as "Head of the Church." The address, though long and involved, held the unswerving attention of the audience. Even those who found the sermon a bit involved, "studiedly ornate," or just "too deep," agreed that Palmer set a bright course for the new church and carried them to "lofty heights of divine emotion." With reference after reference, he demonstrated the role of Christ in the church — using the words of Paul as primary sources, but also drawing upon the whole tradition of Calvinist writings. Near the end of his remarks, Palmer proclaimed the founding of the Presbyterian Church of the Confederacy, saying the former assembly had attempted "to place the crown of our Lord upon the head of Caesar. . . . Once more in this distant age . . . the Church must declare for the supremacy of her Head. . . . Let us build her towers and establish her bulwarks just where the most effective assaults may be made upon the kingdom of Satan . . . and Zion become a 'crown of glory.'"

Soon after the stirring close McFarland officially constituted the Assembly. Waddel read the list of commissioners present — seventy-six

---

7 McA., 1861, 61-72; Robert J. Mallard, "Recollections of the First General Assembly," Presbyterian Quarterly, VIII(1923-1924), 259; McFarland Diary, December 4, 1861; Ella Thomas Journals, III, 45 (December 13, 1861); Augusta Daily Constitutionalist, December 5, 1861.
men from forty-four presbyteries — and the assembly adjourned until afternoon. The group was an impressive gathering of some of the best minds in the South. Among the ministers, three were former Moderators in the Old School and most of the others had served often in church courts. The elders represented a cross-section of occupations, with farming and law being the most common. Particularly noticeable among the laymen was a quartet of judges — Job Johnstone of the South Carolina Supreme Court, J. T. Swaine, who suspended his courts in Tennessee in order to attend, Jesse S. Shepherd, a distinguished North Carolina jurist, and William A. Forward, a veteran of the Florida bench. In ancestry, these delegates exemplified the strong Scotch-Irish strain in the South, although a few claimed English ancestry, and one genealogist remarked that Palmer was a direct descendant of a member of the James Westminster Assembly.8

Presiding officer McFarland called for order at three-thirty, and after short devotional exercises, asked for nominations for Moderator. Three ministers were suggested: Benjamin V. Palmer, John W. Maddel, and Robert M. Morrison. Morrison, who had served as first president of Davidson College pleaded poor health, and Maddel asked to withdraw his name and elect Palmer by acclamation. This the commissioners did and McFarland appointed Thornwell and Maddel "to induct the Moderator elect." Previous to Palmer's taking the gavel, the Assembly also selected D. McNeil Turner of South Carolina as "Temporary Clerk" and Maddel as "Reading Clerk."

8 James A. Lyon, "The General Assembly at Augusta," SCR, XIV(1861-1862), 620-621; CC, January 16, 1862; CC, December 19, 1861.
After Waddel and Thornwell conducted the Moderator-elect to the pulpit, McFarland congratulated him. In a brief reply, Palmer thanked the commissioners for having twice honored him so highly. At the same time, he confessed a lack of parliamentary knowledge and asked for aid and indulgence, but he promised to preside with "firmness, kindness and impartiality."

After a momentary introduction of Henry Jigg, delegate from the Associate Reformed Synod, Thornwell rose to address the Assembly for the first time. "It seems to me that now is as proper time as we can select for a very solemn act which we ought to perform," declared the small man of such gigantic influence. After reviewing recent events in the church, he moved that the Moderator appoint the standing committees "which are usual" in the Old School and the Assembly follow the "rules and precedents" of the same church. After the Assembly approved his motion unanimously, Thornwell proposed that the Assembly "formally adopt" the old articles of faith -- Confession of Faith, Larger and Shorter catechisms, Form of Government, Book of Discipline, and Directory of Worship -- changing only the word "United" to "Confederate." At the same time, he asked "that the style and title of this Church shall be the 'Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.'"

McFarland objected to the adoption of the articles of faith, since he had previously signified his belief in them. With great courtesy, Thornwell asserted that in their present state, the commissioners had no Constitution and that they must have one to bind the synods together. A lengthy debate developed before J. Leighton Wilson asked Thornwell to permit a vote on the second motion first. remarking that "it appears to me that a child is born before it is named," he consented to the proposal
and the new body received its name by a unanimous vote. Then, the South Carolina leader agreed that the motion on the articles of faith be changed to read: "This General Assembly solemnly declares in conformity with the unanimous decisions of our Presbyteries," that the various articles of faith "are the Constitution of the Presbyterian States of America, only substituting the term "Confederate States" for "United States."" This revision carried and the group adjourned for the day.  

By evening, eighty-four commissioners had arrived — fifty-two ministers and thirty-two elders. Most of them attended the special Wednesday night worship in the Presbyterian Church, for which even the Baptists dismissed their prayer meeting. While the leaders of the church listened to Joseph F. Wilson's brief message of the evening, others were busy with the mechanics of the Assembly. The two clerks, Turner and Waddel, checked their minutes to insure correct records. Young William Jacobs was at the offices of the Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel to read the first galleys of the Assembly Reporter.  

Thursday morning dawned clear and cold, with a heavy frost under foot. At nine o'clock, Palmer gavelled for silence and the commissioners spent a half hour in devotional exercises. Waddel read the names of seven more commissioners and then read the minutes of the first session. John F. Adger quickly objected to the wording of the minutes which indicated that the commissioners were meeting "to organize" an Assembly, but Thornwell prevented any further discussion of this point with a few well-chosen words, saying "in this case our very desire was to create an Assembly."

9 Co, December 19, 1861; MGA, 1861, 7; Savannah Morning News, December 5, 1861.

10 Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel (daily), December 5, 1861; Augusta Weekly Chronicle and Sentinel, December 12, 1861; Thornwell Jacobs, The Life of William Plumer Jacobs (Chicago, 1913), 48-49.
Then, a complicated argument broke out over the listing of Potomac and Winchester Presbyteries in the Assembly minutes. Since both groups were officially part of the Synod of Baltimore, but were largely in the state of Virginia, the matter spurred the excitement of many religious lawyers before Palmer referred the matter to a three-man committee.\footnote{Mcfarland Diary, December 5, 1861; CO, December 12-26, 1861; Scock, Writings of Socock, 526-553; Lyon, "Assembly at Augusta," SPB, XIV/1861-1862, 627-628; Atlanta Late City Guardian, December 5, 1861.}

At this point, Thornwell rose again, and proposed "that a Committee, of one Minister and one Ruling Elder from each of the Synods belonging to this Assembly be appointed to prepare an Address to all the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the earth, setting forth the causes of our separation from the Churches in the United States, our attitude in relation to slavery, and a general view of the policy, which as a Church, we propose to pursue." This was a vital part of the plans of the leaders of the meeting who wanted to erase any doubts concerning the purpose of this new church, without a murmur of objection, the Assembly passed the motion.

Then, a number of items were handled in quick fashion. The Moderator appointed the standing committees, exactly the same groups the Southerners had known in the Old School. The important committees -- Bills and Petitions, Judicial, Domestic Missions, Foreign Missions, Education, and Publication -- all contained veteran members, for these groups had to "remodel, reconstruct, and build anew" the benevolent agencies of the church. The commissioners soon decided to create a committee of "three eminent legal gentlemen" to report the advisability and propriety of securing a Charter for the Assembly" in order to insure
control of property. Palmer appointed Chancellor Job Johnstone, Judge J. G. Shepherd, and W. L. Mitchell to this group.

Several motions were referred to committees for further study. Thornwell moved that all changes in the Confession of Faith and Catechism be "proposed by three-fourths of one Assembly and approved by the same proportion of the next two Assemblies," but only the approval of two consecutive Assemblies be required for other parts of the Constitution. This, along with a suggestion of "memorializing Congress on the appointment of chaplains," went to the Committee on Bills and Overtures. This highly important committee, headed by McFarland, also received a motion to endorse the Confederate constitutional prohibition of an established church and to state that the Assembly "understands that prohibition equally to restrain the executive from preferring in the public service one branch of the Church to another."

After Palmer appointed the committee to draw up the "Address to all the Churches," Judge Swayne proposed to address all churches in the South "whose religious views and feelings are in harmony with us," and ask them to join the Confederate Presbyterian Church. He also advocated a statement that the Assembly desired "a most cordial Christian fellowship and intercourse" with all Christian denominations in the Confederacy, but these matters were passed on to a special committee for further study.

With the noon hour already passed, only a few items remained. The commissioners accepted J. Leighton Wilson's suggestion to begin the sessions at nine-thirty and adjourn at two o'clock. McFarland reported, to the satisfaction and approval of the Assembly, a recommendation that the Presbyteries of Potomac and Winchester be listed in the official minutes as "heretofore belonging to Synod of Baltimore." After long hours of discussion, the hungry commissioners adjourned at one-thirty to enjoy
the products of Augusta's renowned cooks and also to begin the routine of committee meetings and reports, 12

Friday was warmer than the previous day, although the morning air off the Savannah River was still crisp. After the short devotional meeting, the last two commissioners enrolled, making a final total of ninety-three churchmen -- fifty-five ministers and thirty-eight elders. One of these two late arrivals was Cyrus W. Kingsbury from the Indian Territory, who had come in spite of illness and great travel handicaps. Before hearing the report on foreign missions, the Assembly elected Hadel the Stated Clerk and Joseph R. Wilson the Permanent Clerk, giving the former a salary of $150 and Wilson $120 yearly.

When J. Leighton Wilson began his report of his attempts to coordinate the work of foreign missions, he instantly attracted the undivided attention of all, for this tall man was the unquestioned authority on missions in the Assembly. He asserted that his temporary committee probably had saved the Indian missions from dissolution and now these evangelists of the West were completely loyal. In the matter of finances, he had received more than eleven thousand dollars, of which he had sent more than four thousand to the Indian missionaries and twenty-two hundred

12 GC, December 19, 1861; NGA, 1861, 7-9; "Toote Journal," December 16, 1861; Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel (daily), December 6, 1861; Houston (Tex.) Weekly Telegraph, December 21, 1861. The exact order of business at this session is not clear when the printed minutes and proceedings are compared.

dollars to men in the Orient. At the present time, there was little more than three thousand dollars on hand, a sum which would not suffice for long.

After this formal report, Wilson described his visit to the tribes. This information held the audience spellbound. Here they heard a personal description of the wards of Zion, the children of the Spirit. Wilson informed his brethren that he believed there were perhaps fourteen hundred communicants among some seventy thousand natives in the mission area, with perhaps twenty-two ministers and licentiates still serving the red men. Although the "recent excitement" had affected the work, Wilson hoped tranquility had already returned and he called for six more missionaries and "$20,000. These funds and laborers, plus the prayers of the congregation, would save these people from the forces of darkness and sin. 13

The Assembly thanked Wilson and his committee for "their eminent services at this trying crisis" and then listened to the delegate from the Associate Reformed Synod, Henry Quigg, born in Ireland but educated at Erskine College and Seminary, was known to be sympathetic to a union with the former Old School presbyteries. Now that these bodies had formed the Church in the Confederate States, many expected him to endorse a merger and his remarks did not disappoint the backers of a merger. He summarized the body he represented and then attempted to demonstrate the similarities of the two groups involved. "We are both called to labor in the same field," he declared, "and are both fighting the battles of the Lord against infidelity, fanaticism, and tyranny." Even the courting of

13 Report of the Provisional Committee on Foreign Missions (Columbia, S. C., 1861); YCA, 1861, 44-48.
McFarland, who was bothered by a cold, failed to distract the listeners who approved Quigg's concluding though that perhaps the Lord was using the present crisis to make the two churches "indissolubly welded together."\(^4\)

These kind words led the Assembly to vote their appreciation to Quigg and caused Moderator Palmer to request the visiting delegate to carry "the sentiments of affection and esteem" of the Assembly back to his Synod. McFarland, speaking as the oldest man present in both age and service, described the Associate Reformed Church as "a noble working set of men," and he endorsed a future union with them. William Henry Foote, also a veteran Virginia clergyman, asked the churches to follow the example of the soldiers at Manassas, to "close up, and we will win the world to Christ." Yet, even McFarland could not resist a warning that the men of God must not be "pressed together," but instead be drawn into one body by "the cords of love."

After these kind exchanges, the Assembly heard a proposal to revise the Confession of Faith, since this was underway in the Old School before the Southern presbyteries withdrew. This idea opened a lively and lengthy debate, dominated by Thornwell, who had been a member of the revision committee in the Old School. He demanded that any committee include the able talents of Robert L. Patney and eventually the Assembly voted to ask a nine-man committee, including both Patney and Thornwell, to report on the matter at the next Assembly. Then, after Winchester Presbytery requested transfer to the Synod of Virginia, the Assembly spent a half hour "in prayer to Almighty God, for His blessing upon the...

\(^4\) Lyon, "Assembly at Augusta," 322, XIV(1861-1862), 621-623; Augusta Daily Constitutionalist, December 7, 1861; McFarland Diary, December 6, 1861.
Confederate States, and especially on the Officers and Soldiers of our armies who are exposed to the dangers and temptations of the battle field and the camp.\textsuperscript{15}

An air of expectation swept across the sanctuary Saturday morning as word spread that Thornwell probably would read the "Address to all the Churches" soon. But before this high point could be reached, a number of other matters had to be examined. The Committee on Bills and Overtures, which received and later granted a request from Tuscumbia Presbytery of the Synod of Nashville to transfer to the Synod of Memphis, recommended that Winchester Presbytery be changed to the Synod of Virginia — a proposal which the Assembly accepted without question.

After hearing reports on records of synods and presbyteries, the Assembly listened to a report of the work of the Southwestern Advisory Committee — on account of work against great handicaps to prevent the collapse of home mission efforts. Although thirty-eight missionaries were said to be in commission and almost three thousand dollars was on hand, the report indicated that the war had rendered this activity extremely tenuous.

The explanation of home missions work touched off a controversy over gaining possession of property formerly under the control of the Old School Assembly. At one time, McFarland and another Virginia minister, Peyton Harrison, exchanged angry words before the jurists finally prevailed upon their more theologically-minded colleagues to allow consideration of this point in a more restrained atmosphere.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{15} MGA, 1861, 10-11; CO, December 19, 1861; Lyon, "Assembly at Augusta," \textit{SSR}, \textit{XIV} (1861-1862), 633-634.

\textsuperscript{16} McFarland Diary, December 7, 1861; CO, December 26, 1861; Houston (Tex.) \textit{Weekly Telegraph}, December 25, 1861; Augusta \textit{Weekly Chronicle and Sentinel}, December 12, 1861.
Then, the audience waited in hushed and eager anticipation while Palmer called upon Thornwell and the tiny man walked slowly to the front of the pulpit. Diminutive, weak from illness, dressed in a black swallow-tail coat and high-heeled boots, he presented a striking picture as he leaned back on the pulpit for support. For some, this was a time of "stillness and attention almost painful to witness." Weighing hardly one hundred pounds, he was at this moment a giant and began to read carefully in a solemn and almost coarse voice: "The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, to all the Churches of Jesus Christ throughout the earth, greeting: Grace, mercy and peace be multiplied upon you." Quickly, he announced that the synods and presbyteries of the Confederacy had "renounced the jurisdiction" and "dissolved the ties" which once bound them to "their brethren of the North." Lest anyone assume that this marked a change in theology, then he noted that Southerners still believed the same faith, accepted the same doctrine, and he only substituted "Confederate" for "United." Punctuating each phrase with a nod of his head, he went on to explain the reasons for the separation. Instead of dividing the church, "our aim had been to promote the unity of the Spirit in bonds of peace," for he claimed a church involving the two nations would have dragged politics into the pulpit. After a long dissertation on the need of separation of church and state, a practice which he believed the Union had violated, he claimed "the mere unconstitutionality" of the recent Assembly was not "sufficient ground of separation." Instead, the formation of two nations would end in battles within the sanctuary, for "they could not be restrained from smiting each other with the fist of wickedness." To solve this situation, Thornwell called for "homogeneous and compact" churches on national lines.
While he read, the audience strained to hear his quiet speech. Joseph E. Wilson thought he equalled Calvin in his magnificent theological treatise as he explained the reasons for the formation of a new denomination. As he discussed the institution of slavery, another minister thought it one of the "clearest scriptural arguments" he ever heard on the subject. Thornwell argued that his church was neither friend nor foe of slavery. "We have no commission either to propagate or abolish it." This was a matter for the politicians, and the churchmen must concern themselves only with the duties of masters and slaves. "These duties we are to proclaim and to enforce with spiritual sanctions. The social, civil, political problems connected with this great subject, transcend our sphere, as God has not entrusted to His Church the organization of society."

After almost an hour, he neared the end of his message and stated the mission of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America: "To proclaim God's truth as a witness to the nations; to gather His elect from the four corners of the earth, and through the Word, Ministry, and Ordinances," to enlist the faithful and fit them "for eternal life, is the great business of His people." 17

Zion heard the call. For many, these were sounds of inspiration -- a clarion voice enlisting the faithful to take up the work and go

---

17 Address of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, to all the Churches of Jesus Christ Throughout the Earth. ... Augusta, 1861, 16pp; Address by the General Assembly to all Churches of Jesus Christ Throughout the Earth. ... (Richmond, 1861); Broadside; CE, December 21, 1861; Thomas H. Law, "Dr. Thornwell as a Preacher," in Centennial Addresses of Thornwell, 12-13; Wilson, Memorial Addresses, 13; Atlanta Gate City Guardian, December 10, 1861; Memorial of the Centennial Anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church, Augusta, Georgia (Philadelphia, 1904), 42.
forward. By the time Thornwell reached his seat and the "profound sensation" of his remarks subsided, the commissioners instantly adopted the "Address" and A. J. Putnam of Tennessee asked that the original of this declaration be preserved and all of the commissioners sign it. 18

The Sabbath, a mild and pleasant day, was almost an anti-climax after the momentous event of Saturday afternoon. Still, it provided a day for worship and a taking of stock. Presbyterian ministers occupied almost every pulpit in Augusta. Palmer delivered an impressive sermon in the Presbyterian Church, an address which one lady thought "a very eloquent and stirring Gospel sermon — Real Methodist, revival sermon." Most commissioners were pleased at the Assembly's accomplishments, although John S. Wilson criticized the "great disposition to speak" and William Henry Foote objected that he had seen "log rolling going on" behind the scenes and mentioned what he labelled a "Virginia cleek ___sic__." Yet, everyone expected the next week's work to proceed more rapidly and they also noted with pleasure the numerous notices in local papers commending the Assembly. 19

The obvious mark of the past sessions, aside from the near unanimity of feeling, was Thronwell's role in dominating the action. He was the apparent leader, to be heard on any question, who usually overwhelmed his opposition. Without forcing his opinions, he had so far won every point except one. This defeat was a proposal to send a letter to the

18 CO, December 26, 1861; Lyon, "Assembly at Augusta," SRE, XIV (1861-1862), 627-629; MGA, 1861, 12-13.

19 McFarland Diary, December 8, 1861; Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel (daily), December 3, 1861; Ella Thomas Journals, III, 45 (December 13, 1861); Atlanta Gate City Guardian, December 7, 10, 1861; "Foote Journal," December 16, 1861.
Old School Assembly, "announcing the organization of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States . . . and setting forth the reason for this action." Although he did not introduce this measure, mention of it on the floor of the Assembly produced a lively debate before it was withdrawn. 20

Monday's discussions opened with a report from the "Committee on Foreign Correspondence," asserted that the Assembly hoped to "draw closer the bonds of Christian intercourse and communion between all Churches of like faith and order" in the Confederacy. Then, the report listed those bodies which were said to have these similar beliefs: Associate Reformed Synod, United Synod, Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and "the Congregation of Independent Presbyterians." A hot debate followed, during which Palmer, as always, was very careful to insure that stenographer Jacobs had gotten a correct account of the conversations. There were proposals to exclude the Cumberlands and to add other groups, but Thornwell again carried the day, when he pointed out that this was only an exchange of delegates among groups which believed the same basic theology.

Next, the commissioners heard proposals for a permanent foreign missions organization. This work would be handled by an Executive Committee of Foreign Missions located in Columbia, South Carolina. The Assembly would select the Executive Secretary and Corresponding Secretary

20 Opponents of Thornwell's plan for a "Valedictory Letter" insisted this would tend to indicate the Southerners were crawling before the Old School, but Thornwell wanted to explain that the South had "not been influenced by low passions of undue anger." In his draft of this proposal, he claimed a common denominational background with the former brethren of the North and added, "we sincerely pray that the two Churches may hereafter have no other rivalry but that of love to the Master, and of hold zeal in His cause. We bid you farewell." Augusta Weekly Chronicle and Sentinel, December 17, 1861; Adger and Girardeau, Writings of Thornwell, IV, 465-466.
annually, and the Committee would choose the Treasurer. A second portion of the plans described the duties of this body, concentrating on the Indians, but also including the "sons of our Southern Zion who are laboring in distant lands." No one disagreed with the idea that the Confederate Presbyterian Church would devote all its energy and funds to foreign missions. Also, no commissioner doubted that the Old School Boards must be replaced with simpler structures controlled by the Assembly. Instead, a lengthy debate centered on the method of electing the Executive Secretary, with one man finally begging that "log-rolling" and "wire-pulling" be eliminated.  

21

Foreign missions reports occupied the Monday night session, but Kingsbury was unfortunately sick and could not participate. Loughridge prevented any disappointment, however, with a sparkling and graphic description of his long service with the Indians, describing the progress Christianity had promoted among the tribes. Allen Wright, a native Choctaw minister, traced the development of missions among his people, portrayed the great need for more workers, and then delighted the crowd with native songs, before Edward Williams, "a Missionary to West Africa," spoke to the commissioners. Just before the session closed by taking a collection for missions, J. Leighton Wilson told his colleagues the heathen peoples were crying "come over and help us," and as the Confederacy united against a "temporal despotism," the churches must overcome "spiritual despotism."  

22

21 Jacobs (ed.), Diary of Jacobs, 36-37; CC, December 26, 1861; NGA, 1861, 13; Augusta Daily Constituationalist, December 10, 1861; SP, December 7, 1861; Lyon, "Assembly at Augusta," 3PP, XIV(1861-1862), 640-641.

22 CC, December 26, 1861; NGA, 1861, 13-14; "Foote Journal," December 8, 1861.
Tuesday's bright sunshine was a welcome relief as the Assembly resumed debate on the method of selecting the Executive Secretary of Foreign Missions. Numerous commissioners explained their fear of powerful organizations outside the Assembly's control, before Thornwell asked the Moderator for five minutes to sum up his views. Granting there were strong arguments for selecting the secretary by the Executive Committee or by the Assembly, Thornwell defended Assembly control and pointed out the pre-eminent importance of the person selected. Only on the minor point of the secretary's title — he favored "convener" because of its Scotch usage — did Thornwell lose and the Assembly finally decided to elect the officers of the Executive Committee, headed by an Executive Secretary.

This important decision set the precedent for continued administration by elected commissioners gathered in the Assembly and became the pattern for the other executive committees. Immediately following the Foreign missions debate, Charles Colcock Jones read the report of the Standing Committee on Domestic Missions. This report praised the Southwestern Advisory Committee and described the proposed Executive Committee on Domestic Missions to be located in New Orleans: a nine member committee — including at least three laymen, as in the foreign missions organization — with officers selected by the Assembly. Although the point was not clear, the description of this committee's duties inferred that it would direct all home missions. After the commissioners approved the proposals on organization and then skirted the problem of local or centralized control, the Moderator asked Jones to address the evening session of the Assembly "upon the subject of the
religious instruction of the colored people."  

In the evening, Jones saw he would address a packed house. As his son-in-law assisted him down the aisle, the audience realized that years of selfless service had left this evangelist with a feeble gait. Weakened from a malady diagnosed as "wasting palsy," he sat behind the pulpit on a high chair and described thirty years of preaching to the slaves. The crowd listened intently as he noted that the North could no longer hinder masters in their attempts to evangelize their servants. To those who insisted on the inferiority of the black man, Jones proclaimed, "they are men, created in the image of God, to be acknowledged and cared for spiritually by us." Warning to his subject, he condemned any pastor who neglected preaching to the slaves as only "half a pastor." Masters, particularly, should offer religious instruction on the slaves' level of understanding. Lest anyone fail to understand the importance of the work, the aged patriarch concluded his remarks by asking: "Is it too much to say that the stability and welfare of both Church and State depend largely on it? My brethren, the eyes of the civilized world are upon us."

After a few men rose to commend Jones's address, James A. Lyon vehemently appealed for improvements in the "peculiar institution." Masters had forgotten they were "as responsible for the religious education of their servants as for their children," he asserted, and pleaded for laws to protect not only the lives of Negroes, but also the marriage vows and parental relationship. After discussing "abuses,"

23 McFarland Diary, December 10, 1861; CE, December 26, 1861; MGA, 1861, 14; Atlanta Gate City Guardian, December 13, 1861.
Lyon claimed that the slave was treated as a "minor for life," and closed with his opinion that the "peculiar institution" was not yet "up to Bible standard." As he concluded, the Mississippian thought the audience was astonished and delighted by his remarks.24

As the Assembly completed a full week of discussion on Wednesday morning, the attendance was down to ninety commissioners, three men already having departed. The morning's debate began when Lyon proposed that Jones head a committee to prepare an address to the churches on domestic missions. When a number of men voiced objections, Lyon replied that the practice of slavery must be improved and the Assembly should remember, "we are by profession truth tellers, and we care not one fig what people think, but speak the truth." Thornwell, quick to sense a delicate issue, continued that "hastening slowly is going most surely." Instead of an address, he favored a report to the next Assembly, to "cover the whole subject and go forth as the solemn act and testimony" of the Confederate Church. The commissioners once more accepted his suggestion, and Jones, Lyon, and Theodorick Pryor of Virginia, were appointed to draw up the suggested report. Then, the commissioners heard the amended and accepted report on foreign missions. A few men objected to the phrase listing Columbia as the site of the Committee "for the present," the discussion moved to a consideration of a Charter for the church.

Judge Shepherd, an experienced legislator and jurist, explained the finer points of law involved in the proposed charter of incorporation.

There could be no such charter from the Confederate Government, he explained, and suggested a charter from one or more states, with trustees to handle any property involved. After remarks by a few purists, the Judge proposed that incorporation include all of the Executive Committees, with charters from each state, for "abundant caution." Then he patiently answered questions from the floor.

A lively discussion on the time and place of the next meeting followed Shepherd's erudite remarks. The North Carolina jurist proposed December of 1862 and noted the free time of farmers at that period. Some objected and Thornwell wanted the traditional date in May, because he thought it best for attendance. When a vote was finally taken, the thin Carolinian once more carried the issue and the meeting was called for the first Thursday in May of 1862. On the question of place, five cities were proposed before time for adjournment: Memphis, Nashville, Richmond, Montgomery, and New Orleans.

The night session dealt with measures considered by the Committee on Bills and Overtures. This Committee recommended that no action be taken on the proposed statement endorsing the prohibition of a religious establishment in the Confederate Constitution or on Thornwell's proposals for changes in the Constitution. But the Assembly did record a weak approval of the earlier motion opposing an established church in the Confederacy and considered sending a statement to the Confederate Congress concerning higher pay and status for Chaplains. This matter was finally tabled, but the debate lasted too long to allow discussion of Thornwell's suggestion to send "a memorial to Congress on the subject of recognizing Christianity in the Constitution."  

25 CO, January 2, 1862; MCA, 1861, 15-19; "Sketch of Judge Jesse G. Shepherd," typescript, Jesse G. Shepherd Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.
By December 12, the Assembly began to feel the effects of pro-
longed discussion. As one commissioner described his restless col-
leagues, "The steam is exhausted, and now we can do some business."
Soon the Assembly resumed its discussion of the site for the 1862
meeting. All of the cities withdrew except Montgomery and Memphis, and
Waddel then moved that Memphis be selected, "and if that be impracticable,
the Stated and Temporary Clerks shall issue in the Presbyterian papers a
call for that meeting in Montgomery." The Assembly favored this motion
by a margin of sixty to twenty-three, and Lyon stepped forward to read
the report on publications.

This handsome man — he sported a goatee and side whiskers which
some ladies found dashing — delivered a summary that followed the
pattern established by the Committee on Foreign Missions, including an
Executive Secretary who doubled as editor of publications. A committee
site was not specified, but recommendation was made that this committee
secure "an equitable proportion" of property owned by the Old School
and publish a Sunday School paper "as soon as convenient." In his
personal remarks, Lyon noted that Nashville and Richmond were keenly
interested in receiving this agency, with numerous proponents favoring
each city. The churchmen approved his report and debated the relative
merits of the two cities before Richmond won by a narrow margin.

After the Assembly tabled any claims of Old School property,
Jones offered the report of the Standing Committee on Domestic Missions,
following the now established pattern of organization. Only in specify-
ing the work to be done, did he vary from this pattern. The Executive
Secretary was to direct all work of the agency — work which particularly
included missions among the Negroes. Presbyteries were to work "through"
this New Orleans-based Committee. The inference of centralization of home missions ran into a storm of opposition, including the dominant voice of Thornwell. Here was a matter which struck at the roots of many commissioners' hopes for the Confederate Church. They did not want centralization and saw control of home missions as a dangerous step in that direction. In the argument, Palmer interrupted to inform the crowd that the time of adjournment had come.26

The night session began with discussion of Thornwell’s motion to propose an amendment to the Confederate Constitution which would recognize the "Christian religion." As he desired, the proposal would state: "We, the people of these Confederate States, distinctly acknowledge our responsibility to God, and the supremacy of His Son, Jesus Christ, as King of kings and Lord of lords; and hereby ordain that no law shall be passed by the Congress . . . inconsistent with the will of God, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures." When many ministers and elders questioned the appropriateness of such a statement, Thornwell withdrew the motion -- only the second major point he failed to carry.27

Perhaps realizing the debates of recent sessions had accomplished less than expected, Friday’s session progressed more smoothly than usual. On the significant question of selecting the executive secretaries, the commissioners agreed that each annual report from the executive committees should include nominees for the following year, but the Assembly would make the final selection. When the report on education charged the

26 Atlanta Age City Guardian, December 14, 1861; Ella Thomas Journals, III, 44 (December 13, 1861); CC, January 2-9, 1861; YGA, 1861, 21.
27 "Relation of the State to Christ," in Agier and Girardeau (ed.), Writings of Thornwell, IV, 549-556; CC, January 2-9, 1861; YGA, 1861, 21.
Executive Committee of Education with the duty "to oversee the work of educating young men for the Gospel ministry," the commissioners struck out the word "oversee" and substituted milder phraseology. Then they voted to locate this agency in Memphis and to place the work of church extension temporarily under the Executive Committee of Domestic Missions. 28

No session was planned for Friday night, because of a planned "educational meeting." This gathering stemmed from an earlier gathering in Joseph R. Wilson's study, when a few ministers agreed in the need for new impetus behind Presbyterian higher education. A sizeable crowd, including all the leaders of the Assembly, attended this unofficial session. Lyon opened with a plea for the Presbyterian Church to resume its role as "the chief educator of the land," for he claimed it had not been "keeping pace with the progress of science." Others agreed with him, he intimated, and concurred in his dream of "a great Confederate University." After most of the important church leaders voiced their approval of Lyon's plan, Palmer moved that a committee "draft a plan for the establishment of an Institution of the highest order" and report this plan to the Memphis Assembly. The chairman of the "meeting," Judge Forward of Florida, then appointed a committee of ten clergymen, including Lyon, Palmer, Thornwell, Maddel, and Joseph R. Wilson. 29

The commissioners were weary on Saturday and anxious to return

28 Atlanta Gate City Guardian, December 17, 1861; MGA, 1861, 21-24; 30, January 9, 1862; Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel (daily), December 14, 1861.

29 Lyon, "Assembly at Augusta," ZPR, XIV (1861-1862), 662-664; Ella Thomas Journal, 111, 13 (December 13, 1861); 32, December 21, 1861; Houston (Tex.) Weekly Telegraph, January 1, 1862.
home, as ten men had already. Much important work remained, including one memorable ceremony. As the clerk called the role for the morning session, each man came forward and carefully signed the original of the "Address to all the Churches" on a table before the pulpit. Some commissioners thought of their small parts in the founding of a new denomination, as they recorded their names for posterity.30 Perhaps, a few compared the scene to the Westminster Assembly.

A report by Adger from the Standing Committee of Systematic Benevolence occupied most of the Saturday morning discussions. As this South Carolinian asked congregations to begin regular collections for benevolences, he declared, "a vast empire lies stretched out for our Church thus to occupy in the Master's name." After approving his report, the Assembly heard nominations for the Executive Committees and considered the desirability of a new hymnal. Then, they recessed until four o'clock, when they formally adopted the earlier recommendations of the Committee on a Charter.

At an unusual Saturday night session, held in order to complete the Assembly's activities as soon as possible, the commissioners decided to make no statement about separating Church Extension from the Domestic Missions Committee in the future. The most important decisions of the evening concerned the lingering subject of Domestic Missions. Once more, the wealthier presbyteries resented having this work directed by a central committee. Finally, after near exhaustion of both subject and discussants, the majority voted to allow the richer presbyteries to handle their own missions, but ordered them to report funds expended for

30 Wallard, "Recollections of the First Assembly," Presbyterian Quarterly, XVII (1903-1904), 262; Wells, Presbyterian Worthies, 38.
this purpose, and to contribute to the support of domestic missionaries in the poorer areas — where the Executive Committee would supervise the work. After this victory for Thornwell and the Easterners, a weary group of commissioners listened to a recitation of nominees for Trustees and then adjourned for the weekend.31

Although Presbyterians again occupied most of the pulpits in Augusta on the Sabbath, most commissioners spent the day preparing to conclude the Assembly the following day. Only seventy-five men were present for the Sunday session, which opened with an endorsement of a Bible Society in the Confederacy. Then, the subject of church union or merger was resumed. There was apparent reservation toward any affiliation with the "United Synod, although the Synods of Virginia and Nashville had ruled positively on this subject. W. B. McCullen, of Virginia, praised the men of the Synod and said most of this group was thoroughly orthodox." Thornwell, aroused by what he considered a threat to the spiritual safety of the church, charged the "United Synod had made recent "assaults" against old school men of the South and their doctrine. "Eventually, the verbal rivals realized that the matter had to be dropped temporarily, or it would lead to increased resentment.

When the Assembly turned to a consideration of the Associate Reformed Synod, it generally agreed on the desirability of a union with this conservative body. In an offer of "unity and union," the Assembly agreed to include all the Psalms in a new hymnal, thereby hoping to bring a union quickly.

After voting to assume control of Union Seminary, the Assembly began election of the Executive Committees, Secretaries, and Trustees. In each case there was little or no argument over the nominees. Unanimously, the Assembly chose J. Leighton Wilson to head foreign missions and John Leyburn to direct domestic missions. Both John H. Gray in education and William Brown in publications were selected over small opposition. With their committees all living near the sites of the committee headquarters, the Assembly expected each agency to begin work soon and directed each Committee to secure state charters.32

At the afternoon sessions, weary churchmen handled a number of comparatively minor items, before they paused to listen to the narrative of the past year’s work. The motion referred Thornwell’s motion on the “procedure for amending the Constitution of the church to the next Assembly, and another criticized political discussions by religious bodies.

The narrative spoke of “confusion and agitation,” but there were some bright spots — revivals in Alabama, “unusual prevalence of prayer,” foreign missions, work among the slaves, and continued success at the seminaries. As the Assembly voted its approval of the narrative, they recorded their acceptance of the summary statement: “The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.”

A motion to thank the citizens of Augusta for their “generous hospitality” and the railroad companies for their “liberal accommodation” of commissioners at half fare, brought standing ovations. At this point, Palmer, showing the effects of days of presiding over the Assembly,

32 Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel (daily), December 15, 1861; 191, 1861, 36-38; CO, January 2-9, 1862.
announced there was "no further business before the assembly." A number of men then called for a brief devotional service that night to offer thankful praise for their harmonious meeting.

The brief gathering at seven-thirty included only two items of business — a decision to publish three thousand copies of the "Address" and an agreement to give each of the men from the Indian Territory twenty-five dollars to help with their expenses. These items disposed of, the commissioners sang a hymn, heard a long prayer of thanksgiving by the patriarchal McFarland, and listened to Palmer's concluding remarks. Noting that "undisturbed harmony" had marked the deliberations, the Moderator assured the commissioners and a large crowd of visitors that he firmly believed this unanimity was only one of many indications of God's blessing on the assembly. For a few minutes, he elaborated on this point of heavenly favor and then ended with the thought that "as we extend the land of parting, there will be scarcely an eye that will not moisten."

Theodoric Pryor then rose and moved that the Assembly adjourn, "to meet no more in this world." The crowd sang the words of "Plast be the tie that binds" with more understanding than ever before, and Palmer ended the Assembly with prayer.33

That night, as the men looked forward to returning to their families and congregations, they recalled a quotation from Peter which Ben Palmer had used to describe all the Assembly's proceedings — "Lord

33 McFarland Diary, December 16, 1861; Augusta Daily Constitutionalist, December 18, 1861; Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel (daily), December 17, 1861; CC, January 8, 1862; LG, 1861, 33-42; Mallard, "Recollections of the First Assembly," Presbyterian Quarterly, XVII(1903-1904), 262-263; Atlanta State City Guardian, December 18, 1861; Houston (Tex.) Weekly Telegraph, January 1, 1862.
it is good for us to be here." These men were proud to have been a part of the organization of a church for Zion. They were pleased with their accomplishments and proud of the favorable comments they received. Now, they must bring their dreams to fruition. Tomorrow, there would be the long journey back home — and the realities of war.
Chapter VIII "Under God, we shall not fail."

The Assembly had been a pleasant relief from the realities of war. When the commissioners reached home, these men heard nothing but praise for their accomplishments in Augusta. "What a noble body and what model proceedings," wrote one observer, "I have never read the proceedings of any deliberative assembly with such unqualified approbation and delight." Such comments were common, not only within the Presbyterian family, but also without. The "Address to all the Churches" received particular praise. One paper called it as "an immortal document" and a minister's description of the paper as "dignified, convincing and unanswerable" was a typical summation.1

With the actions of the Assembly as a beginning, the Presbyterian Church in the Confederacy looked forward to a long period of service to the Lord. Obviously, the Commissioners had set the pattern for a new religious group. They attempted to adhere strictly to the articles of faith, avoided the creation of strong boards or agencies, and claimed to separate the church from political events. In such a time, no religious body could have made the separation as complete as the Assembly claimed. Instead, with a war raging, these men could no more avoid statements of loyalty to the new nation they admired, than they could avoid seeing the effects of the war around them.

As soon as the new Executive Secretaries returned home, they called for donations to support the work of their new committees. As

---

1 Rev. C. A. Stillman (Tallassee, Ala.) to Rev. A. A. Porter, December 24, 1861, MS, Porter Letters; Southern Field and Fireside, quoted in Augusta Daily Constitutionalist, December 15, 1861; Southern Christian Advocate, quoted OP, January 23, 1862; J. W. Smith Diary, January 4, 1862.
he asked for gifts averaging two thousand dollars a month, J. Leighton Wilson declared "our own beloved Zion will soon take her place among the foremost and most zealous of her sister Churches" in the field of foreign missions. From New Orleans, John Leyton issued a circular soliciting funds for domestic missions, emphasizing the new freedom to work among the slaves. Immediate help was necessary, he claimed, for he had "large demands and an empty treasury." In addition, the Committees of Publication and Education called for money, although no books were planned for the present, but catechisms and tracts were urgently needed, as well as a Sunday School paper.²

Each of these men had difficult tasks, for the scarcity of money increased as the noise of battle echoed throughout the Confederacy. By the spring of 1862, the blue-coats had driven into the Mississippi Valley. Ulysses S. Grant rushed his divisions down river, taking Forts Henry and Donelson on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers in early February. By the end of the month, Nashville and much of middle Tennessee was in Federal hands. These advances, plus seizure of bases along the Carolina coast, threatened large portions of Dixie.

These reverses were part of a divine plan, argued the weekly church papers. God was teaching the South to appreciate her independence all the more by these defeats. "Our people should learn to bear misfortune with courage and unanimity," thought one church paper, for the losses in the West were "divine discipline." The fall of Henry and Donelson was not just cause for despair agreed the papers, for this was

² Circulars from Wilson, dated January 6, 1862, and from Leyburn, dated January 14, 1862, in McFarland Papers, Montreat; 32, January 11, 1862; 33, January 18, 1862.
but temporarily a setback in "The Second American Revolution," which
like the first might have periods of gloom.

This time of crisis came because the "stage of national enthusiasm
is ending and the test of patriotic principle and steadfastness begins." Congregations heard many pleas to heed the lessons being offered by the
rules of war. Moses Hose, speaking on the death of ex-President John
Tyler, reminded his hearers that war and battle demonstrate that nothing
here on earth is permanent or secure. Yet, in spite of the notes of
gloom, and the warnings of the awful consequences of defeat at the hands
of the Yankees, there was supposedly "no occasion for discouragement,"
for God was with the South and would yet save her.3

Union victories shocked Confederates out of the dream of a quick
war. Now, as with one voice, Presbyterians shouted their support of the
war effort. Sermon after sermon identified the effort of the South with
Biblical purpose, with honor and justice. Hose summoned the Christian
population to save the nation from godless defeat. They must take
positions of responsibility in the government and demonstrate "earnest,
heartfelt piety" and make religion the "vitalizing force" of the
Confederacy. P. Y. Russel admonished his flock to work for the establish-
ment of liberty in "righteousness and peace," while many others urged the
safety of the Bible and the Church. Church papers called on communicants
to join in the war against the Yankee and save the land from the scourge
of the North. Said one elder, "No man who hasn't higher duties at home,
and who can pull a trigger, ought to stand back now." In this emergency,

3 CF, February 6-13; 1862, SP, February 22, March 1-15, 1862; Richmond
Enquirer (semi-weekly), January 21, 1862
some congregations offered their church bells to the government, to be melted into cannon and shot. The familiar sounds would no longer toll the hour of worship, but would signal the battle to save Zion. 4

Presbyterian ministers endorsed the Confederacy with virtual unanimity. They pictured the gray army fighting the Lord's battle. Perhaps the war itself was providentially ordained to allow the continuation of the war of life so dear to the South. Because of this, these observers believed God often intervened on Dixie's side, sometimes causing a temporary setback, but always controlling the battle to His own ends.

Through the cold and defeat of winter, the faithful waited for the jubilation of victory. But reports from the front told of continuing retreats and the people turned their hearts heavenward. Supplicants gathered in prayer meetings in countless towns and villages. Ministers assured their congregations, "Be not afraid; only believe." "Have mercy upon me, O Lord," and "The name of the Lord is a strong tower." Sabbath audiences included some persons who had not visited the sanctuary for years, and previously silent souls offered prayers to the arbiter of battles.

The people had a strong and abiding confidence that He would hear


The following churches either gave or offered their bells to the Confederate War Department during the early months of 1862: Huntsville, Alabama, El Dorado, Arkansas, Tallahassee, Florida, Marietta, Georgia, Fayetteville, North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina, Raleigh, North Carolina, Richmond (First Church), Virginia, Staunton, Virginia.
their prayers. If they doubted, the papers reassured them with discussion of "God Our Refuge," "The Righteousness of Our Cause," and "National Recognition in Heaven." This divine favor was not a gift, however, but the reward for faith in God. He had already bestowed His favor at Fort Sumter and in Virginia, during the summer of 1861, and some prophets pointed to the success of the ironclad Virginia as further proof of divine favor. Instead of boasting about favors, everyone must pray to be worthy of them, and, as one paper concluded, "those who cannot take the field can pray."5

A few men still considered the formation of Confederate States of America as a rebellion against the ways of God and legal authority. In Memphis, Robert G. Crudny, minister at the Second Church, never sympathized with secession and was lukewarm toward slavery. By the spring of 1861, many of his congregation openly opposed his ministry due to his failure to endorse the Confederacy. Soon, Memphis Presbytery dissolved Crudny's ministerial relation with them. While an elder sought a new minister, Crudny protested the action of presbytery, all the while keeping an eager eye on the advance of Union forces down the river.

The attitudes of churchmen in northeastern Mississippi toward the Confederate Government were not clear. James A. Lyon, stubborn and outspoken advocate of slave reforms, was the recognized leader in the area. Although accused of disloyalty and a friend of some "Unionists, he publicly advocated the Southern nation. One of Lyon's friends in Tombeckbee

---
5 "Mississippi Presbytery, 1861-1877," 20 (March 15, 1862); "Fayetteville Presbytery, 1850-1875," 187-188 (April 10, 1862); Pool Diary, March 17, 1862; NCR, February 22, 1862; 22, March 20, 1862; 22, February 26, March 13-20, 1862; 22, February 20, 1862.
Presbytery, James Aughey, ran afoul of a local vigilante committee which charged him with traitorous remarks and informed him: "Parson Away, you haven't told out of our musters as a konskrip. Now i's her bi summenzed to attend a kort marshal." Sentenced to be shot, Aughey requested Lyon's presence at the execution, but was able to escape to the North where he gave vivid and doubtless overdrawn accounts of his sufferings. Zenas A. Peemster, a colleague of Aughey's, endured a similar fate, and another minister was loudly accused of disloyalty at the time.

Early in the war, at least three Texas ministers had difficulties because of their alleged affinity for the North. William M. Paker, the best known of this group, never erased the charges about his attendance at the 1861 Old School Assembly. Stephen A. Hugman, minister at Hempstead, apparently left the state during the winter of 1861-1862, rather than remain and suffer the consequences of his beliefs. Thaddeus McRae, pastor in the coastal town of Port Lavaca, also opposed the Confederacy.

Even before the end of the war's first year, East Tennessee was a scene of strife and confusion. Some congregations, such as Paker's Creek Church in Knoxville Presbytery, continued their loyalty to the Old School Assembly. Presbyteries in the mountain areas were lukewarm toward the new Assembly. One observer stated that two-thirds of the communicants in East Tennessee favored the Union, especially after the Federal advances.

---

in the West. But, in reality, these people wanted no part of the war. Obstinate and profoundly opposed to direction from outsiders, they preferred to be left alone.  

In the border areas, some Presbyterians still yearned to join the South. Reports circulated that a majority of churchmen in Maryland were pro-Confederates. In Kentucky all who hesitated to endorse the Lincoln government were considered rebels. Thomas A. Hoyt and Stuart Robinson were pressured to take the oath of loyalty to the Union, but steadfastly refused. Robert J. Breckinridge, still the Union champion in the state, named five disloyal Presbyterian clergymen. Although Hoyt and Robinson were able to continue in their pastorates, some ministers were busted early in the year as the bluecoats moved southward into Tennessee.

A few churchmen in Missouri also worried Federal officials. Although the state convention required all civil officers and ministers to take the oath of allegiance, a number of Presbyterian clergymen did not do so. One of these men, Samuel F. McSheeters, pastor of the Pine Street Church in St. Louis, claimed he wanted to remain apart from the "civil contest" and accused the personal ire of a Federal officer when he baptized a child named for a Confederate general. While Union authorities attempted to persuade McSheeters and those who agreed with him to take the oath, the Presbytery of Upper Missouri recorded its opposition to the Spring Resolutions.  

7 "Records of the Presbytery of Knoxville, 1852-1871," 119-123 (April 13, 1862); 22, May 24, 1862; Rev. R. A. Lapsley (Carthage, Tenn.) to "Dear Sir," August 21, 1861, 333, Breckinridge Papers.

8 CP, March 27, June 5, 1862; Col. E. J. Wilson (Louisville, Ky.) to Rev. E. J. Breckinridge, December 26, 1861, 533, Breckinridge Papers; 37, May 24, 1862; CP, March 13, June 10, 1862; Leftwich, Martyrdom in Missouri, I, 64-96, IL; "Records of Presbytery of Upper Missouri, 1852-1874," 226 (April 25, 1862).
Not only the friends of the South beyond the battleline, but all
Presbyterians in the South gradually learned that war itself was a special
enemy which brought hardships and difficulties, and forced congregations
to abandon benevolent work. Domestic missions suffered particularly, for
most of the funds that might have gone to this work went instead to
assist the evangelists with the army. All too often, presbytery treasurers
were forced to report only the "most meagre response to the usual calls
of Christian beneficence." Collections for all but army missions were
dangerously low. Not enough money was available to support the few
ministerial candidates still in school or to aid the families of deceased
ministers. Colportage and church extension funds were almost a memory.
Inflation sorely affected the congregations. They could no longer afford
to repair their buildings, nor rebuild them when they burned, and the
soaring costs of printing made church minutes almost a memory.

War shook the foundations of the church. Ministerial candidates
rushed to the front and left only a few men to prepare to fill the gaps
left when death thinned the ranks of the clergy. Many congregations were
without regular preaching. Church courts were not as well attended as
formerly. Some presbyteries near the scene of fighting were unable to
meet, while in other areas, ministers and elders were afraid to leave
their homes. Ministers learned that many worshippers listened more closely
for the news from the front than the Gospel from above. The martial
ardor was so overwhelming in one area that a minister complained of the
plan that all men drill three days a week and added, "I shall be unable
to even to prepare for preaching -- the times seem to require every man
to be a soldier." But it remained for another clergyman to express the
sentiments of most of his colleagues when he wrote, "truly this is a
sad war." 9

Interest in action at the front made revivals rare incidents. Only a few were noted, mainly in Alabama, and conversions was seriously low. Pastors worried over this turn of events and hoped that some call might bring the people back to the faith. When such changes did occur, there was great rejoicing.

Ministers and their families suffered first from the effects of inflation. Many pastors received their salaries irregularly or in sums which showed no relation to the rising costs. Presbyteries called in vain for congregations to rectify this situation and clergymen were forced to rely on the staples which they could produce for themselves. Others stored up food supplies for the future needs of their families, while in many areas of the West, numbers of people began to feel the gnawing effects of shortages when they sat down to eat or tightened their belts. 10

---


10 Rev. Joseph C. Stiles (Staunton, Va.) to Wife, January 2, 1862, MSS, Stiles Correspondence; "Records of the Hanover Presbytery, 1861-1867," 32-33 (April 25, 1862), MSS, Union Seminary; "Honewell Presbytery, 1864-1865," 425 (April 5, 1862); "New River Presbytery, United Synod, 1857-1865," 100-101 (May 9, 1862); J. R. Smith Diary, April 1, 1862; Doll Diary, January - May, 1862; GC, February 20, 1862. For the first six months of the year, reports indicated revivals in only eight congregations with 114 professions. Only three new congregations were formed and an equal number dissolved.
Well paid or not, ministers never relaxed their struggle to overcome Satan's handiwork. With the war came temptation and increased moral laxity. Watchmen cried out from the pulpits, calling for renewed vigilance against the invader who sought to possess the soul instead of the land of the South. They offered the sins of Dixie as the cause of God's awakened anger toward the army in gray. A North Carolina pastor declared the combined sin of the Confederate populace was an "accursed thing" from above. Lyon told his Mississippi congregation that "their sins, their violations of God's law . . . had brought the sword upon the land -- and the only hope was repentance." When they considered the tribulation in the land, more than once churchman looked heavenward and cried out: "God has a controversy with us." 11

Failure to observe the Sabbath was a particular source of worry and anger to the clergy. They forwarded petitions to Congress, asking that mail not be carried on Sunday and that military activities on the day be curtailed. Presbyteries requested ministers to enlist congregations to aid in this movement and attempted to alert their members to dangers of violating the Sabbath "by worldly employments, amusements, and conversation." Since God himself had commanded observance of this day of rest and worship, the people must expect his righteous wrath and indignation if they disobeyed His commandment.

Although consumption of alcoholic beverages had long been common among the Scotch-Irish who constituted the majority of Presbyterians in

the South, heavy drinking was now said to be a dangerous sin among the faithful. Church courts frequently condemned what they identified as "intemperance" and resolved that "the manufacture and indiscriminate sale of intoxicating spirits for use as a beverage are justly regarded as a surpassing cause of misery and ruin, physical, social and moral." At the same time presbyteries discussed liquor's telling effects, church papers campaigned for control of drink and insisted that a true Christian would not become a "distiller." 12

There were other indications that temptation had weakened the resistance of the godly. Gambling seemed to threaten in the towns and throughout the camps. "Irreverent Swearing" was allegedly more common than ever and malicious gossip had become a dangerous pastime. Many observers worried about the lighthearted attitude of so many at home, while death walked the trenches. But in spite of these sins and their relations, the Southern Presbyterian identified "Our Chief Sin" as "covetousness," which others called "extortion." 13

The effects of war also struck deeply into the colleges and seminaries. All of their glimmering hopes and great expectations of the previous year were gone. After withering the excitement of the "residential campaign" and then the ardent secession discussions, the academic

12 Handbills and petitions in Maryland Papers, Montclair; "Brazos Presbytery, 1861-1868," 103 (April 5, 1862); "Harmony Presbytery, 1859-1868," 105 (April 2, 1862); "Florida Presbytery, 1867-1875," 45-46 (April 19, 1862); Edward Martin, "The Law of the Sabbath, in its Bearing upon National Prosperity," 125, XV (1862-1863), 22-32; "Minutes of Holston Presbytery, United Synod, 1860-1875," 23-36 (April 17, 1862); "Concord Presbytery, 1855-1862," 7-1-762, 705 (April 11-12, 1862); NCC, February 19, 1862.

13 Benjamin N. Palmer, "The Art of Conversation," 229, XIX (1861-1862), 552-569; 27, January 30, April 13, 1862; 22, April 17, 1861; 23, March 22, 1862.
institutions could not withstand the war. Four important institutions closed before the scholastic year ended and others were hard pressed to keep their doors open. Austin College, closed since 1861, allowed its building to be used for a private school, while needed repairs were neglected and the debt increased alarmingly. At Oakland College, near the Mississippi, President Preckinridge and all of the faculty resigned when the students had left for military duty in February. President McLellen of Stewart College tried to continue his institution almost single-handedly, but most of his remaining students left when the Federals advanced on Forts Donelson and Henry. Then, he closed the college on February 21 and soon the invaders took possession of its buildings for use as a hospital. As they departed in late March, the Federals looted the library, stripped the chapel, and took some of McLellen's personal possessions. Leesburg College fared no better than her neighbor to the north. Gray and Waddel managed to begin the session with thirty students, but the threat of Federal occupation caused them to terminate classes on February 29, just before the Confederate army converted the college building to a hospital and later the bluecoats used the structure as a barracks.

Oglethorpe University managed to complete the academic session, although one professor led a company of students to the Georgia coast in January. Conscription took all four members of the senior class and decimated the lower classes as well. The Trustees decided to close the institution on May 30, and granted degrees to the seniors in absentia. When the Trustees promised to reopen the school in the fall, the faculty agreed to serve even at reduced pay. About two-thirds of the students left Davidson College when the Conscription Act passed — one group marching away under command of the Professor of Greek. With only five men
left, College authorities suspended activities in May, hoping to resume activities in the fall. Hampden-Sydney College, perhaps least affected by the war, completed the semester with the regular activities and granted one professor leave to serve with the army in the summer. At the same time, the Trustees voted to put all college funds in Confederate bonds and looked confidently to the opening of the fall term. 14

Even the seminaries, supposedly training grounds for men of peace, heard the beckoning sound of battle. When the seminarians at Columbia noted the provisions of the Conscription Act in March, they asked the faculty for advice. When the professors gave no answer, the students -- knowing that Thornwell and Adger believed they should join in the military effort -- prepared to go to the front. By the time Thornwell addressed the graduates early in May, five seniors were already in the army and only sixteen men were left from what had been the largest class in the seminary's history.

At Union Seminary, "everything . . . looks as sweet and tranquil as if no wasting hand was laid upon any part of Virginia," observed a visitor. But this optimist failed to realize the effects of inflation on professors' salaries, or that the fall enrollment of twenty-two students had fallen to only four parolees. The Board of Directors approved Dabney's request for leave to join Stonewall Jackson's staff and heard a depressing report of the past year's events, but they still

14 "Minutes of Austin College Trustees," 147-150 (September 3, 1862); 148, March 13-27, 1862; Cooper, Southwestern, 22-23; 32, January 17, June 22, 1862; 149, May 31, 1862; "Davidson College Faculty Minutes, 1862-1873," 229 (April 25, May 2, 1862); Morrison, Hampden-Sidney Board Minutes, 150 (June 11-12, 1862).
decided to open the Seminary in September in the hope that a few students would appear.  

Religious journalism also suffered from the effects of war. Money and workers were always scarce and inflation made subscriptions and donations inadequate to cover the financial obligations of publishers. Soon after he returned from the Augusta Assembly, William Brown issued a public plea for "immediate help" to begin the work of the Committee of Publication. He hoped to issue the new Sunday School paper, *Children's Friend*, late in February, but the scarcity of paper plus the demand for men to man the defenses of Richmond, made this impossible. In June, however, he was able to announce that the *Shorter Catechism* and *Catechism for Young Children* were in type and would be available soon.

Brown also continued to edit the *Central Presbyterian*. Shortages and increased paper prices caused him to continue to issue half sheets. While he tried to persuade subscribers not to send "uncurrent" or "unbankable money" for the paper, Brown informed his readers that all Richmond dailies were on half-sheets, and the *Christian Observer* was the only church paper on a full sheet. But at that moment, the *Observer* was issuing its first half-sheet in thirty-four years, for it had the same problems as Brown and one-third of the *Observer*’s subscribers were already behind enemy lines.

Only the *North Carolina Presbyterian* maintained a full four page paper, and then only on smaller pages. In Columbia, the *Southern Presbyterian* announced in January 25 that "A. A. Porter and Co." had purchased

---

15 SP, May 17, 1862; Jacobs (ed.), Diary of Jacobs, 92 (March 12, 1862); CR, May 22, 1862; F. W. Smith Diary, 112 (March 16, 1862); "Proceedings of Union Seminary Directors, 1860-1863," 99-98 (May 14, 1862).
the paper. Soon, a rapid increase in expenses and loss of a thousand subscribers forced Porter to reduce the Southern to half-sheet size in April and refuse to print long articles. Meanwhile, the Southern Presbyterian Review managed to issue the January number, but the editors soon indicated they would be unable to turn out the next number due to the lack of high quality paper. In New Orleans, the True Witness and Sentinel continued to produce a weekly number, but editor McInnis watchfully noted the movement of Northern forces toward the Crescent City.

These weekly papers were the only sources of information concerning the missionaries to the Indians. These patient and courageous men usually wrote J. Leighton Wilson of their work and he in turn passed the letters on to the papers, but he received no word from men serving the Seminole, Creek, or Cherokee tribes. The accounts in the papers revealed the debilitating effects of the war in the tribal lands. Most Presbyterian schools among the Choctaws closed in December of 1861. Pro-Confederate radicals from Texas forced C. C. Copeland to leave his post among this tribe, but the tribal council invited him to return and soon he reported an increase of religious interest, despite the rising popularity of "scaly-dances."

Cyrus Byington hopefully described the continuing loyalty of the Choctaws in his area, but a missionary to the Chickasaws wrote, "my labors seem to amount to almost nothing," and mentioned small audiences with an apparent decline in morals. With the chaos of battle threatening to engulf them, the missionaries still shared the strengthening bond of

16 CP, January 2, 23, March 20, May 22, June 5, 1862; The Westminster
Shorter Catechism . . . . (Richmond, 1862); CC, May 1, 22, June 17, 1862;
MCP, February 22, May 17, 1862; CP, January 25, 1862.
mutual hopes and aspirations. Although travel to presbytery meetings and preaching assignments was increasingly difficult, these ministers never expressed any desire to halt their work. They repeated their satisfaction with Wilson's leadership and asked him to send more missionaries to reinforce their efforts. 17

All over the Confederacy, people yearned for reassurance from above. Winter ended but defeat still hovered over the retreating men in gray. The bright hopes of the previous year were fading. In the West, blue columns dashed across Tennessee and enemy gunboats threatened Memphis from the north and New Orleans from the south. Even Richmond was imperiled by the vast concentration of Federal men and material in Northern Virginia. These threats led the faithful to band together. For the first time in many years, denominationalists combined their efforts and their prayers. Methodists, Lutherans, Baptists, Episcopalians -- even Baptists who usually frowned on interdenominational cooperation -- met under the same roof to worship and plead with God. These union prayer meetings met in countless communities, often at noon, but sometimes at night. There were few indications of factional spirit, for the Yankee had done what Satan could not to -- induce Southern Christians to cooperate. People of many denominational leanings joined to aid the sick, to send religious reading matter to the army, and to ask God to protect His people.

This same sentiment of cooperation was also evident among the various Presbyterian groups in the South. Formation of the new Assembly

17 Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate State of America . . . 1862 (Augusta, 1862), 32; NCP, March 1, 15, 1862; 37, October 18, 1862; "Indian Presbytery, 1860-1875," 32 (April 12, 1862); "Choctaw Mission, 1853-1870," 34 (April 11, 1862).
opened many minds to considerations of merger and the official words of
greeting approved by the Augusta commissioners increased the optimism
of supporters of an inclusive Presbyterian Church for the South. Members
of the United Synod reacted first to the Assembly's suggestion of merger.
While they resented the veiled inference that some of their number were
not theologically orthodox, most Synod spokesmen favored a union, with
both groups accepting the same articles of doctrine. Attention centered
on a prolonged newspaper debate between A. H. H. Boyd, the outspoken
United Synod leader, who defended the orthodoxy of his colleagues, and
the Southern Presbyterian, the only church paper to oppose the suggested
union. 18

Conservatives were cool toward the United Synod, because they
considered this group too literal and lax in theology, but these same
leaders, particularly the South Carolinians, favored any combination with
the Associate Reformed Synod. The Southern Presbyterian spoke for these
people when it claimed, "there is real unity of sentiment between the
two churches," and even the North Carolina Presbyterian cautiously ex-
pressed an interest in exploring the subject. Still, the A. R. P. ins-
sistence on use of the Psalms instead of hymns remained a definite
barrier. For instance, many Virginians refused to agree to use only the
Psalms after a merger, although the proposal to compile a new hymnal and
include the Psalms offered a compromise solution.

The Associate Reformed presbyteries and individual members were
divided on the merger question. J. H. Bryson, the A. R. P. representa-
tive at Augusta, was elated with the Assembly's action toward his group,

18 *CO, January 2, February 13, 1862; SP, March 29, 1862; NCF, March 23,
1862.*
but John S. Pressly continued to block what he considered a dangerous move. In addition to claiming the Assembly members would not use the Psalms and ascribing possibly false motives to these people, Pressly asserted the union "would necessitate us to hold fellowship with individuals who ignore every leading doctrine of the Westminster Confession."

The New West Telescope gently encouraged the movement for merger, while A. R. P. presbyteries discussed the Assembly's proposals at their spring meetings. Both the First and Georgia Presbyteries decided unanimously they were prepared to meet the Assembly on the "substantial basis of the 'good old Mother Church of Scotland and Ireland' . . . first the Sacred Psalter and then Paraphrases and Hymns." In spite of Pressly's vigorous opposition, a majority of the Second Presbytery agreed that closed communion was not a bar to union and that Assembly members could use both hymns and paraphrases "while we will claim for ourselves the right of adhering strictly to our former practice in this matter, because we see no Divine authority for a different course." Meanwhile, Memphis Presbytery postponed action because of a small attendance and Virginia Presbytery voted for merger on the condition the Assembly "make the use of the Psalms obligatory on the united Church." 19

By May, 1862, events seemed to point to a union with the A. R. P. churches, but since the Synod of that church did not meet until September, the United Synod would discuss the matter first. Since many of its

---

19 see, January 12, June 7, 1862; MSC, quoted in CC, March 6, 1862; "Memphis Presbytery, 1861-1862," 347 (April 4, 1862); CC, January 23, 1862; MSC, February 22, 1862; DLT, January 17-24, 1862; "First Presbytery, A. R. P., 1874-1875," 372 (April 21, 1862); "Minutes of A. R. P. Presbytery of Georgia, 1843-1860," 113-115 (April 12, 1862); MSC, Montreat; DLT, quoted in CC, May 9, 1862; Agnew Diary, II, 13-17 (April 24-26, 1862).
congregations were located in areas which suffered the scourge of battle, the United Synod leaders heard no cheering reports from the churches. Attendance and collections were sadly curtailed. Even such a fiery speaker as Joseph C. Stiles had been unable to achieve noticeable results with his evangelism. As the time approached for the Synod meeting in Chattanooga on May 16, some observers wondered if a quorum would be able to reach the Tennessee city. "The storms now threatening . . . seem to require prudent men to stay at home," wrote a Virginian and the Christian Observer agreed, suggesting a summer or fall meeting instead.

Only seven commissioners appeared at Chattanooga — four ministers and three elders, representing three presbyteries. Since they did not constitute a quorum, they only observed the presidential proclamation of fasting and prayer on May 16 and called a meeting at Knoxville the following May. As the small group of men dispersed, they had little to comfort them except Stiles's assertion that there was "a warm sympathy and a growing confidence and love between all true Presbyterians."  

While the Associate Reformed and United Synods discussed the merger issue, Assembly members looked forward to their 1862 meeting in Memphis, but they could not overlook the inroads of the war on their ranks. Union officers had interned two Virginia ministers and caused other men of God to flee, leaving libraries and personal possessions behind. These refugees brought tales of cruelty and hardship, as well as confusion. "In this day of extreme darkness, it is hard to know what to do," commented one pastor, "I have been waiting for some light. I

20 CG, April 24 - June 5, 1862; N. Converse (Richmond, Va.) to Rev. Isaac Naff, April 29, 1862, MSS, Isaac Naff Papers, Vontreat.
did hope that the war would cease before this, and that I would be back again with my little flock, but God has ordered it otherwise."

If God were indeed controlling the events of the war, He had turned a wrathful face to the South. In Virginia, where the Confederate ironclad "Virginia" had been repulsed by the "U. S. S. Monitor," men in blue inched up the peninsula between the James and York Rivers toward Richmond, planning to end the war by summer. Most of the Mississippi was under the surveillance of Union gunboats. At Shiloh, in the first great battle in the west, victory barely escaped the defenders of state rights. Everywhere, the bitter cry of defeat was running over.

Presbyterians proclaimed the urgency of a national awakening. Moses Hoge urged "upright, patriotic statesmen" to come forward and save the South. Others placed emphasis on the role of mothers and sisters on the home front, but no one disagreed with the earlier assertions that only God would decide the eventual winner. They believed that the South must win this life and death struggle, for the North was intent on total subjugation. Lincoln, "The Modern Nero" in some church circles, was the arch-fiend. He and his army, composed of "the refuse of the rural districts, and the offscourings of Northern and European cities" would reduce this once happy land to destitution. These invaders would turn their captives into slaves, who would entail the curse of servitude to a military despotism for countless generations.

Once more, Thornwell spoke for the church on "Our Danger and Our Duty." In this oft-quoted sermon, he portrayed the grave danger to

---

Southern homes and families if they fell before the invader. "Our wives
and daughters are to become the prey of brutal lust. The slave, too,
will slowly pass away, as the red man did before him. ... It is a
right of thick darkness that will settle upon us." This tiny philosopher-
thecologist again claimed that the men of Dixie fought for right, for
freedom, for religion. Outnumbered though they were, they must look
upward for assistance and remember that even defeat had a holy purpose.
"We have nothing to stand on but the eternal principles of truth and
right, and the protection and alliance of a just God," he said. "Under
God, we shall not fail." 22

Few of the spring presbytery gatherings were happy occasions.
Poor attendance and weeks of discouragement erased any signs of gladness.
War news ever obscured the satisfaction resulting from the Augusta
Assembly, for such losses as the death of Bainey Carr Harrison, an out-
standing young Virginia minister, cast a pall over Dixie. "There is
little to cheer us, but much that calls for lamentation," reported the
South Carolina Presbytery. In Texas, one presbytery saw "much to depress
and drive us to the Throne of Grace," and another believed "the cause of
Christ and the interests of the soul are in great measure overlooked and
neglected." "Not a single church ... reports a revival," wrote the men
of Memphis Presbytery. South Alabama thought the situation merited a
pastoral letter calling on renewed effort by the faithful. Only in
Fayetteville Presbytery of North Carolina were there signs of religious

22 Hope, "The Christian Statesman"; 22, April 15, 1762; 22, April 17,
1762; 22, March 6, 1762; James H. Thormbell, Our Cause and Our Duty
All of these groups looked to the Memphis Assembly for reassurance. When representatives convened for the annual discussions, perhaps the situation would turn out to be less dismal than it seemed. These gatherings had once been happy times of reunion and comraderie. Even the monotonous reports from temporary standing committees and the long resumes of the accomplishments of executive committees were pleasant indications of the progress of the faith. True, the petitions and motions from presbyteries were sometimes troublesome, but these were the heart of an Assembly meeting. From them developed the dual communication system within the church: presbyteries forwarding matters through the church courts to the Assembly for judgment while the highest church court handed down decisions and recommendations for presbytery action. Perhaps all of this routine would begin at Memphis when the Southern commissioners gathered for their first regular session after the organizational meeting in Augusta.

In March, Palmer warned that Memphis might not be a safe meeting place, due to enemy action. Then, in mid-April, the Stated Clerk officially moved the Assembly site to Montgomery. By the time commissioners left their homes, their newspapers reported the impending struggle for New Orleans. Palmer started for Alabama, but when he heard of the attack, he returned to save his family and to join the defenders.  

---

23 "South Carolina Presbytery, 1855-1867," 387-388 (April 7, 1862); "Brazos Presbytery, 1840-1862," 173 (April 5, 1862); "Minutes of the Presbytery of Central Texas, 1854-1864," 177-178 (April 10, 1862); "Memphis Presbytery, 1857-1862," 257-258 (April 5, 1862); "South Alabama Presbytery, 1855-1863," 266-310 (April 19, 1862); "Fayetteville Presbytery, 1859-1873," 221-222 (April 12, 1862).

24 CP, March 30, April 17, 1862; Johnson, Palmer, 262-264.
city in the Confederacy fell — almost without a struggle. Yankee ships dashed upriver and only a comparatively short stretch of the Mississippi remained in Confederate control. Steadily, the Federal grip tightened. Blockading ships were increasing in numbers and effectiveness. Clearly the news was increasingly bad. The Lord was the only hope.

As the commissioners met the local reception committee in Montgomery’s Exchange Hotel, they soon learned that this pleasant little city still boasted of being the birthplace of the Confederacy. Perched high on the bluff of the river, the Alabama capital thought of itself as the center of the Lower South, a future metropolis. High on one of the city’s seven hills, dominating the countryside, stood the capitol where the daughter of ex-President John Tyler first raised the Stars and Bars more than a year earlier. Not far away from this historic spot, was the castellated Presbyterian Church, where a number of the Confederate congressmen had worshipped and where the Assembly would gather.²⁵

When the meeting opened on Thursday, May 1, there was only a small representation present. Palmer, the retiring Moderator, did not arrive, so the group selected John L. Kirkpatrick, the President of Davidson College, to preach the opening sermon. Then, the Permanent Clerk read the official list of commissioners in attendance — thirty-seven men. With no one present from Arkansas, Texas, or Virginia, the crowd was little larger than a syndic, and in the words of one member, “few . . . big guns” were present.

The Assembly unanimously elected Kirkpatrick Moderator and T. L.

²⁵ CP, March 27, April 17, 1862; Johnson, Palmer, 262-264.
McRyde Temporary Clerk. In addition to the routine actions of opening an Assembly, the commissioners agreed to spend the first half-hour of each morning session in devotional exercises "with special reference to the distracted state of the Church and country." As the commissioners talked informally after the first session, they noted how the present gathering was inadequate to handle the problems before the new church. Only two Executive Secretaries, J. Leighton Wilson and John Leyburn, were present and Leyburn barely escaped from New Orleans before the city fell. Although the meeting would maintain the succession of Assemblies, few expected this body to make any important decisions. With such a small attendance and the depressing news from the battles, the churchmen were pessimistic. Nothing seemed safe. One commissioner revealed the local sentiment when he wrote home about the Alabama capital: "Montgomery is a pretty city ... in full view of a point on the river ... from which gunboats could shell it without taking aim. Many seem to expect these gunboats in a few weeks." 26

The Friday morning session began routine matters and then, J. Leighton Wilson reported the accomplishments of the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions. This report demonstrated the Committee's diligent work, but the Southerners overseas had not replied to Wilson's letters and the Indian missionaries needed additional laborers. Leyburn followed with a summary of domestic missions. This now homeless committee had barely four thousand dollars on hand and only thirty-two missionaries in commission. He stressed the need of finances if the vital work of evangelism was to continue among the Negroes, the soldiers, and those

26 Serpell, Memorials of Academic Life, 376-387; W&J, 1862, 5-7; NCP, May 10, 1862.
in spiritual darkness. Eastern synods had contributed very little to this cause and less than two hundred dollars had been received for church extension. After hearing of present difficulties, the commissioners turned their hopes to the future and closed the morning session by voting to hold the 1863 Assembly at Columbia, South Carolina.

Nine more commissioners, including five from Virginia, enrolled at the opening of the afternoon discussions. Without reports from either the Education or Publications Committees, the Assembly turned to presbytery overtures and approved a proposal of New Orleans Presbytery to allow presbyteries to accept men from the North who were unable to secure letters of dismissal. Then, in perhaps the most important action of the entire Assembly, the commissioners approved a motion to prepare a "Pastoral Letter" to their fellow Presbyterians "now in the armies of the Confederacy, fighting the battles of our national independence." 27

In Saturday morning, the last member of the Assembly appeared, making a total of forty-seven men in attendance. Standing committee reports occupied much of the day's proceedings and reminded the ministers and elders of the tasks confronting the church. A letter from Lyon explained that the committee he headed had been unable to write a pastoral letter on instruction of the slaves. This delay caused much disappointment, because the churchmen were eager to demonstrate that slavery, "as understood and cherished in the Southern Confederacy, is open to objection only on the ground of certain abuses, all of which can be softened or entirely removed by allowing Christianity to have full sway in its development and management." 28

27 Joseph R. Wilson, "The General Assembly of 1862," SPR, XV (1862-1863), 52-53; MCA, 1862, 7-9, 25-26, 32-34.
After a brief respite on the Sabbath, the commissioners gathered on Sunday, determined to complete their duties and return home as soon as possible. They agreed, "this is a time for action, not for talk," and raced through committee reports and elected the members of the Executive Committees. Since it was still too soon to expect positive results in the Augusta Assembly's letters of greeting and possible merger, they reappointed fraternal delegates to all related church bodies. In the absence of a report from the Committee of Publications, the Assembly nevertheless commended the "zealous and partially successful efforts" to begin the journalistic enterprise of the church, noted the attempts to send religious literature to the army, and authorized the committee to move from Richmond, "in case the invasion of the foe may make this change necessary."

In grave and respectful silence, the assembly listened to the "Pastoral Letter" to Presbyterians in the army. This document assured the defenders of the faith that the civilians at home never forgot the brave souls who "rushed to the rescue of the Republic driven by the impulse of patriotism, and in obedience to the calls of God and our country." The Assembly especially wanted to remind the men of their responsibilities to resist the sins of the times: profanity, "desecration of the holy Sabbath," intemperance, and gambling. These might ruin both individual and nation, but the Lord would bring victory and peace, "If we are His people."

Before hearing the narrative, the Assembly considered the work of the Committee of Education. In the chaos of the times, no report was available from the Committee, but various spokesmen related that most of the ministerial candidates had gone to the army and there were no funds
for their use if they continued their studies. Following this additional reminder of war's blight on the church, John L. Mirandeau, the tall and energetic minister from Charleston, read the narrative. He related that only a few presbytery and synod reports were available, and these all seemed to "dwell upon the absorbing topic of the war." Congregations apparently supported the national effort with enthusiasm, but had often done so at the expense of the church. Yet, the "still, small voice" of the Holy Spirit was not silent. Collections for benevolences were said to be only slightly below normal and the work among the negroes continued diligently. But, perhaps the brightest spot in all the young life of the church was the sudden attention to prayer meetings.  

The final session opened with discussion of overtures from the presbyteries. Most important of these requests was an appeal from Tuscaloosa Presbytery to petition President Davis or Congress about Sabbath desecration in the military service. The Assembly approved a letter to Davis, signed by the Moderator -- "a straightforward, manly plea in defense of the Sabbath against the incursions of reckless army regulations." Then, remembering that Virginia had denied a charter request, the Assembly authorized the Moderator to appoint a committee to study this matter further.

As they moved toward adjournment, these churchmen appointed the Executive Secretary of Domestic Missions the coordinator of applications for chaplaincies. Then, in their final pronouncement they considered the role of churchmen in the martial conflict and asserted it was "a high privilege" and "plain duty" for the people to pledge "their lives,
their fortunes, and their sacred honor" to each other and "the government of their choice" in the war effort. After this, the Assembly concluded with the routine vote of appreciation for local hospitality and adjourned to meet in 1869 in the South Carolina capital, "or wherever else the moderator of this assembly may . . . convene it."30

As the commissioners made their way home, they looked back on a brief, but harmonious meeting — "the prudent Assembly," as one member described it. They had handled the needs of the church as quickly as possible and left many matters which they felt unable to handle for the 1869 meeting. With so few commissioners present, they could have done no more. By the time these churchmen reached their homes, the South was reeling from defeat. Soldiers of the "army had indeed captured New Orleans, silencing the True Witness and Observer and driving many of the faithful, including Whitaker and Palmer, to flight. Many churches were closed and in Virginia some sanctuaries had been seized by the Federals. Even church papers called the events of the previous month "a great calamity" and called for courage, as they considered the question, "In Whom Shall We Trust?"31

Fear closed in on the church and cut her leaders to flight. The Committee of Domestic Missions moved temporarily to Athens, Georgia, and many communicants fled the path of the invader. Meanwhile, church papers carried the details of the Assembly's transactions and printed the missing report from the Committee of Publications. This report explained the great difficulties encountered in establishing a church printing agency.

30 Ibid., 16-20; Wilson, "Assembly of 1869," S22, WV(1862-1863), 59-60.
31 Ibid., 54; "Obituaries of the Synod of Mississippi," 9-11; 22, May 3, 1862; 26, "ay 22, 1862."
but still expressed optimism concerning the first issue of the *Children's Friend*, as well as catechisms and tracts for the soldiers. Eventually, the committee hoped to have a large list of titles available for congregations, but limited funds might end all these dreams.\(^{32}\)

In the midst of this period of gloom, with Union forces marching toward Richmond in overwhelming numbers, congregations once more observed a national day of prayer and fasting. Ministers called on men and women to humble themselves, to fight for freedom and the Bible, to confess national sins, and to consecrate themselves to the battle against the godless invader.

Such complete devotion to the Confederacy, in spite of defeat and adversity, caused one Northern minister to write home that "the most unmitigated set of villains they have in the South are the . . . preachers . . . all talking secession . . . drinking mean liquor and advocating the cause of Jeff Davis and the devil."\(^{33}\)

\(^{32}\) *EB* May 31, 1862; Storey (ed.), *Letters by Smith*, 647; *WA*, 1862, 28-30.

\(^{33}\) *EB*, June 12, 1862; *Doll Diary*, May 16, 1862; Russell, "Laborers in the Ministry," 15 May 16, 1862; McFarland Diary, May 16, 1862; Richmond *Religious Herald*, June 5, 1862.
Chapter IX. "It is righteousness that exalteth."

The summer of 1862 opened with a brilliant victory for the South. The valiant defenders of Richmond stopped the enemy at the city gates and after a week of savage combat, hurled the Federals back. Robert E. Lee, the new commander of Confederate forces in Northern Virginia, saved not only Dixie's capital, but its morale as well.

Immediately a shout of jubilation rang out across the land. God once more had blessed the nation and aided His chosen people in their struggle with the hated invader. Ministers extolled the wonderful news and called on their congregations to join in thankful prayers. Church papers chimed in and Presbyterians agreed "god in His infinite mercy has crowned our arms." 1

But bloodshed and carnage were more evident than ever before. Casualty reports now cast dismal shadows everywhere. Obituaries were so numerous that church weeklies had to change for lengthy death notices. Countless homes and once happy people cried out for mercy. Churchmen who visited hospitals came away with changed attitudes toward the glory of the conflict. By the time the war entered its second winter, few continued to think of a glamorous jousting between gentlemen soldiers, but instead they realized that the struggle was a test of survival. 2

During this season of deadly conflict, the church and the nation found a hero of the first magnitude in Stonewall Jackson, Lee's brilliant corps commander. In the Shenandoah Valley, an area as familiar to his

1 22, July 12, 1862; 22, July 12, 1862; 22, July 3, 1862; McFarland Diary, July 4, 1862.

2 Russei, "Labors in the Ministry," 24 (July 2, 1862); McFarland Diary, July 1, 1862; Yale, Moses Hove, 157-164.
mind as the scriptures were to his heart, he dashed the hopes of numerous Federal expeditions and still assisted in saving Richmond. Now he was praised in every sanctuary. According to the ministers, Jackson’s martial might came from his faith. The eccentric leader from Lexington was said to be “the interpreter and impersonation of the Christian element and the Christian consciousness of this civil conflict.”

While one legend grew, another passed on. James Henley Thornwell never regained his health from the intestinal attacks of the previous year. Weaker health forced him to reduce his labors and eventually to go to the hills of North Carolina for rest. Suddenly, in mid-July, his vitality declined and on August 1, he died in Charlotte from “a sudden and violent attack of dysentery, which baffled the skill of his attending physicians.”

His death plunged the church into deep mourning. A church paper labeled his death “a public calamity.” The minister thought “the finest, strongest, pillar of our church has fallen,” and another mourned that “the greatest man in the Southern Confederacy is dead.” In spite of their sadness, some optimists saw a glimmer of promise in this great man’s passing. Perhaps God was indicating the need for reliance on divine guidance instead of the strength of man. And if anyone desired to see the monument to Thornwell’s accomplishments, they need look no further than the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.4

3 Joseph Y. Atkinson, ed., The Sinner of Victory . . . (Raleigh, 1862); Atlanta Southern Confederacy, August 2, 1862; MCH, June 14, 1862; Doll Diary, August 12, 1862.

4 Rev. J. H. Thornwell (Charlotte, N. C.) to wife, June 22, 1862; MCH, Anderson-Thornwell Papers; Diary of Gilbert Robbins Rackett, August 4, 1862; NC, Montreat; Jacobs (ed.), Diary of Jacobs, 98-99 (August 2, 1862); CG, August 12, 1862.
While Presbyterians mourned the passing of their inspiring leader, the gray army of Lee and Jackson gave these people cause for thankfulness. After driving the attackers away from the gates of Richmond, the Army of Northern Virginia wheeled northward, scored a smashing victory at the site of the war's first battle near Manassas Junction and then crossed the Potomac into Maryland. There, on September 16 and 17, in an awesome struggle along Antietam Creek, near the town of Sharpsburg, the defending Union lines stopped Lee's army for the first time and it returned from the first invasion of the North without victory.

As these weary men headed back toward Virginia, Southerners paused once more in a day of fasting and prayer. Even more than on former days of this nature, men and women crowded the churches to honor God and to beg Him to sustain their nation. Palmer used the occasion to eulogize Thornwell. "A bright and beautiful vision had vanished from us for ever: a man gifted with the highest genius," proclaimed the refugee from New Orleans, who challenged the faithful to follow the path of the departed leader, to make the new nation and the new church a fitting memorial to this man's efforts.

Most ministers believed this was indeed a time for thankfulness, for they knew only of the victories which preceded the Maryland campaign. In Raleigh, a congregation heard that if they had visited the lines before Richmond, they would have seen an angel of the Lord, "hurling back the multitudinous cohorts of our self-confident invaders, filling their ranks with confusion, dismay and death." A pastor in Knoxville believed God had been with the South since secession and W. C. Dana told his Charleston audience of the "The Great Peril Passed" and asked them, "what government on earth could be more intolerable, more loathsome and
abhorred, than the despotic rule, the many-headed tyranny of a multi-
tudinous mobocracy." Elsewhere in South Carolina, a clergyman begged
the citizenry not to forget to give God the credit and to pay Him homage.

Tireless P. Y. Russell, the Independent Presbyterian leader, preferred to
believe that God had "summoned the oppressed and threatened states to
speed their flight from the modern Egypt . . . to the Canaan of self
government." 5

If God truly was aiding the truth, He had forgotten the church

colleges. Only Davidson and Hampden-Sydney Colleges managed to do more

than barely maintain classes. And even at the North Caroline school,

which opened the year with twenty-four students in the college depart-

ment, the literary societies were suspended and no senior class formed.

When the Oglethorpe Trustees voted to open their school, only a few

students appeared and there were ominous signs of financial difficulty

ahead. Austin College reopened after a year's closing, with a new

president and a sizeable enrollment, but with a debt which the school

"must now look in the face." There were preparatory classes for a few

young men at Oakland, Stewart, and LaGrange Colleges. The groups at

Oakland apparently disappeared gradually, a Confederate raid dispersed

the classes at Stewart, and a Federal drive ended academic endeavor at

LaGrange. 6

5 Palmer, A Discourse of Thordwell; Atkinson, The Giver of Victory, 7;

October 9, 30, 1862; Alexander Sinclair, A Thanksgiving Sermon . . . .

(No. 11), untitled VSS sermon, dated September 18, 1862, in Russell Papers.

6 CB, August 14, November 6, 1862; CG, October 12, 1862; Tankersley,

Old Oglethorpe, 136; "Minutes of Austin College Trustees," 147 (September

3, 1862); "Associate Reformed Synod, 1860-1872," 26-29 (September 14,

1862); "Missionary Synod, 49th (October 17, 1862); Cooper, Southwestern,

29-33; Waddel Diary, November 4-5, 1862.
The two seminaries opened the semester with four students each. At Union, the faculty voted to continue regular classes, in spite of the disappointing enrollment. At the same time these theologians forwarded letters of protest to Congress and the President concerning the failure to exempt divinity students from conscription, a point of contention on which many churchmen differed. Columbia Seminary still mourned the death of Thornwell, but was pleased to be able to replace him with Palmer and announced the classes would continue as long as one man was present.7

The war was beginning to damage the stability of many church-related institutions. Colleges increased their fees, but still expressed fear for their financial future. Yet, they indicated their confidence in the Confederacy by investing endowment funds in Confederate and state bonds. This money and the students who were absent from classes would rebuild the nation when peace returned to Dixie.

The church papers also staggered on. Pages were now smaller and only the North Carolina Presbyterian was able to continue a full four-page issue. By the end of 1862, each paper upped the subscription rate and demanded cash payment in advance. With newsprint prices already triple the pre-war level and labor costs climbing, editors watched their debts carefully. Advertising revenue was greatly reduced, many subscribers paid for their subscriptions in worthless notes or checks, and mail service was never dependable. Both the Southern Presbyterian and North Carolina Presbyterian admitted losing money in the previous year, and the other papers were little better off. But these hard-pressed

7 "Union Seminary Faculty Records, 1859-1892," 24-25 (September 3, December 1, 1862); CP, September 10, October 16, 1862; NCP, October 11, 1862.
journalists begged their readers to aid the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, which was in dire financial straits, saying it was "an indispensable auxiliary."³

The progress of the Committee of Publications was the only bright spot in the church's journalistic activities. Throughout the South observers congratulated the accomplishments of this new group. By the end of 1862, fifteen tracts were ready for circulation, but the pride of the Committee was the *Children's Friend*. This small, four-page monthly paper which first appeared in August, 1862, replaced the Sunday School materials which previously came from the North. Although hindered by shortages of paper and ink, William Brown, who served both as editor and Executive Secretary of Publications, managed to keep the paper on a regular schedule after the first issue. Early issues avoided the war, slavery, or the Confederate States. Instead, Brown included poems and articles -- both reprints and originals -- which might have appeared in any paper of the type during the previous decades.⁴

While the Publications Committee achieved marked success, the Committee of Domestic Missions languished. After fleeing New Orleans, Executive Secretary John Leyburn settled first in Athens, Georgia, and then in Montgomery, Alabama. From the latter city, he called for donations to aid weak churches and to organize new congregations. His pleas fell on deaf ears, however, for the donations were miserably small as presbyteries used any available funds to meet their own needs. Inflation made salaries inadequate and congregations contributed their

³ *CP*, September 25, 1862; *RF*, October 11, 1862; *CP*, October 23, November 27, 1862.

⁴ *CP*, December 4, 1862; *RF*, August, 1862.
money to other causes. Ministers who once cared for the scattered flocks which dotted the rural countryside now went to the army. Synods and presbyteries alike recorded the inadequacy of home missions funds and laborers. Only in the Synod of North Carolina, did there seem to be ample funds to carry on this work, but even that body could not locate enough laborers. Then one presbytery recalled the shortcomings of the past year in home missions, they decided to "trust in the Lord and wait patiently for Him." 10

Confederate military fortunes were declining. The battlelines stretched deeper into the hinterland of Dixie and increasing numbers of civilians felt the armed might of the invaders. As victory still eluded the South and the Federals swallowed more Confederate territory, churchmen tried to explain the causes for the reverses. They never doubted God's presence with them, nor did they consider that He planned to bring the Confederacy to defeat. Rather, they often attempted to explain that the events were working for some purpose — His purpose.

In the autumn of 1862, church leaders again turned to prayer. Just as in the dismal days when Richmond was threatened early in the year, congregations returned to the sanctuary in large numbers. Perhaps they hoped they could earn God's favor with regular attendance and worship. Pastors responded to the occasion with words of warning to the faithful. "The battle is the Lord's," was a favorite theme and preachers admonished all who listened that they must harken to the full realization of this message if the nation was to escape the sword of defeat. The dark days were to purify the people, to bring them back to the Lord, to make

---

10 SP, November 27, 1862; North Carolina Synod, 1862, 99-92 (October 31, 1862); "Bethel Presbytery, 1856-1868," 236-237 (April 15, 1862).
the land the new Israel.

In the bewildering circumstances of the war, a few critics asked if the war itself was justifiable and a Charleston minister argued that this particular war was justified because it was a defense against "evildoers." But even if this were so, even if God did create the Confederacy, divine favor might be withdrawn. The multiplying sins of the people were ample cause for all the visitations upon the South. But the believers were not united. While the observer begged all women to pray for peace, and the Synod of Texas warned that "the present war is His rebuke and sign of His special displeasure," a minister wrote Robert J. Breckinridge in Kentucky that the South was confident, but would not boast "save that which speaks in the booming of our cannons and the sharp volleys of our musketry."11

Thus, almost two years after secession, Presbyterians in the South still viewed the war as a moral struggle with the irreligious North. Presbyteries and synods began their narratives with references to the awesome results of the conflict in their locality. "The dark cloud ... has advanced steadily upon us," recorded the Synod of Arkansas. At the same time Alabama churchmen wrote that "a mourning church has mingled her tears with the tears of a stricken country." All over the South, the summation was the same — the church suffered mightily. Congregations were scattered and ministers put to flight by the enemy. Morality was failing in the chaos. Alternating joy and sorrow swept the people along and they too often forgot about the call of the faith. Collections were

not what they should be in the midst of inflation. Energy, loyalty, faith, and love, all went first to the nation and the church suffered gravely.

But there were a few indications that the holy favor had not yet vanished. Here and there scattered revivals were mentioned and every church body reported that evangelism among the slaves was growing in interest. Without the handicap of Yankee interference, congregations and masters strove to measure up to Southern claims about the civilizing influences of slavery. Also, prayer meetings were well attended. Many communities maintained daily services and people of all denominational affiliations participated in prayers to save the land. Even defeat gave hope to some patient souls who viewed the nation's peril as a purer of the faith and loyalty of the people. One presbytery hoped: "Our beloved Zion may come out of the furnace through which she is passing, purified as gold seven times refined." 12

Church leaders were very pleased with the deep interest in the religious life in the army. Since early in the fall of 1862, troops in the line showed a strong interest in listening to their chaplains. By mid-winter, the movement was a widespread revival, especially in the Army of Northern Virginia, where fighting men flocked to hear the chaplains and an army of strength became an army of faith.

Chaplains had been with the army since the early days of the Confederacy. Some had commissions from the Confederate Government, but many held commissions from their state, and others had no commission at

all. From the first of the war, the position and rank of the chaplain was vague. He was poorly paid, had no rank, and had to depend on the officers to aid him in calling the men to the religious services. For the first few months of the war, little attention was paid to religion in the ranks. As the conflict lengthened, officers and men alike called for preachers to bring the word of God. Eventually, four different types of ministerial laborers served the troops: chaplains, who had official commissions from either the state or Confederate Government; army missionaries, who acted as chaplains but were under denominational control; army evangelists, who were similar to the missionaries, but who served briefly; and colporteurs, who distributed literature.¹³

By the second year of the war, chaplains were present in many regiments. Presbyterians encouraged as many pastors to go to the army as possible. Newspapers described the needs of the men in the lines and suggested that churches work out some sort of system for procuring chaplains. Numerous observers urged that Congress raise the pay and status of chaplains, but to no avail. When an insufficient number of men applied for commissions, congregations and presbyteries began to pay the expenses of missionaries. Some of these men stayed with the armies for long periods of time and almost every minister spent at least a few weeks at the front.

Many Presbyterian ministers left for the army before the second winter of the conflict. Some of the great names in the denomination joined this movement: Ben Palmer, who preached all over the Gulf States, Moses Hoge, who served a Camp of Instruction outside Richmond, Joseph C. Stiles, who excited much interest in the Army of Northern Virginia, and Robert L. Dabney, who served as Jackson's adjutant. These men led the way for many others. Some men went in their own. Presbyteries followed the earlier pattern of selecting ministers to send at church expense to serve regiments from the local area. For weeks, these evangelists preached and prayed while the army was on the march. As winter approached, the regiments searched for winter quarters and preachers multiplied their efforts.

Suddenly, soldiers harkened to the heavenly message and the war became a religious crusade. In company after company, religion became a prime topic of conversation. While earlier, chaplains had preached in the open fields and under the bright sun, the troops now constructed chapels and reading rooms. Since most officers were church members, they encouraged and assisted the chaplains. Some units marched to religious services in a body. Next to the generals, chaplains and missionaries became symbols of the Southern cause. They served the cause in many ways — preaching, writing letters home, hearing enlisted men's woes, and assisting in the hospitals. The work was not easy. A veteran chaplain explained to prospective applicants for commissions what they might expect:

The position of chaplain is an unenviable one. His labors are those of a missionary, his exposure that of a soldier, his auditory that of a mixed assembly of critics, and the fruits of his labors reaped perhaps hereafter. He must lend a deaf ear to much that he hears, and shut his eyes against innumerable
sights. He must be social, and occasionally forget he is a minister of the Gospel. His walk may be that of a saint, but his conversation should at all times, pertain to worldly matters. Secession he must avoid and encourage social life. 14

After the army returned from Maryland and took up winter quarters along the Rappahannock, the revival spread all over the Army of Northern Virginia. Only occasional references to denominational backgrounds seeped into this work. These were not Baptist or Methodist, Episcopal or Presbyterian, but united Southerners, arrayed in spiritual and martial strength against forces of darkness. Earlier fears about the low moral tone of the army vanished amid swelling crowds and faces eager with interest in the message of personal salvation.

Services were held both day and night in many units. Perhaps the most renowned Presbyterian worker in this movement was Joseph S. Stiles. This old man, nearing seventy years of age, travelled from unit to unit, leaving behind him countless conversions and a deep spiritual awakening. The results of his preaching delighted him, for he had never found men so eager to hear his message in all his ministerial career.

In his fiery, but informal manner, he soon expected to be greeted each night by a "forest of faces." As his fame spread, none of the lot chapels were large enough to hold the crowds who flocked to hear him. Then, the services moved outside and the only limit was the reach of his voice. 15

Reports of revivals crowded the pages of church papers and these sheets joined in calling for volunteers to assist in extending the

---


15 Rev. J. C. Stiles (Richmond, Va.) to wife, November 7, 1862, "Ed. Stiles Correspondence; for detailed accounts of revivals in Virginia, see: Bennett, Great Revival; J. William Jones, Christ in the Camp; or, Religion in Lee's Army (Richmond, 1863)."
movement. Although the Montgomery Assembly empowered the Committee of Domestic Missions to appoint missionaries, this group was unable to meet the vast need and presbyteries joined in efforts to supply the need in Virginia. Many men responded to the call, but the need always extended beyond the supply.

No histrionics were necessary for these audiences. This was pure and plain revival preaching — the simple message which many Southerners had heard for years at camp meetings all over Dixie. Denominationalism was kept to a minimum and many stories circulated of refreshing examples of cooperation between ministers of various churches. Pastors apparently avoided any sort of excitement such as once plagued frontier revivals. Instead, the services were quiet and the missionary explained that "the pure, simple, truths of the Gospel... engages the attention... and nothing else will give the desired result." 16

Chaplains found the converts eager to pursue religious reading matter. Tracts, Testaments, and church papers, were in great demand. By the end of the summer of 1862, each Presbyterian paper began to list donations for sending church papers to the soldiers to the front. The lists of donors lengthened as cold weather began and each church weekly was sending more than five hundred copies each week at the front. To meet the desires of the soldiers, the papers included numerous articles designed for army reading. In this manner, the papers served as tracts and helped to sustain both soldiers and civilians. "Army columns" appeared in most issues, filled with descriptions of the religious awakening.

---

16, August 6, 1862; Rev. John E. Harris (Lynchburg, Va.) to Matthew Pilson, December 30, 1862, M33, McFarland Papers, U. of T.; 32, December 4, 1862, March 26, 1863.
spreading through the men in gray.

The revivals were interrupted briefly in December by a renewed Federal attempt to take Richmond by frontal assault. A powerful army massed on the north bank of the Rappahannock and prepared to cross the river in force and march straight toward the Confederate capital. When they reached the south bank, just upriver from Fredericksburg, Confederate artillery met them and threw them back in a masterful defensive action. Once more, prayers of thankfulness were heard in many sanctuaries, but for Presbyterians, the victory included a bitter loss. Thomas R. R. Cobb, now a brigadier, was fatally wounded and died in the arms of a chaplain. When clergy and laity reviewed the old year and looked forward to the new, they could not help but note the high mortality among outstanding men in the defense of the South. Editors might advise the reader to turn away from the "gloomy present" to the "bright future," but this was increasingly difficult. Not even the rumor of diplomatic recognition could divert attention from the deadly drain of the Dixie's finest men. 17

Death made its cruel entry into every neighborhood. Ministers often had to deliver messages of condolence and explain the death of beloved relatives and friends to mourners. Sacrifice and death only hallowed the cause, asserted Dabney, who warned his audience, "this blood seals upon you the obligation to fill their places in your country's host." Elsewhere, the inevitability of death was a favorite topic of funeral orators who admonished communicants to prepare for it. When he attempted to commemorate the passing of a South Carolina general, Palmer confessed his grief, but contended that the faithful must not lose

17 Richmond Enquirer, December 14, 1862; 32, January 1, 1863; 22, February 20, 1863.
confidence in God, for "to the people of our Confederacy the sublime mission is assigned of standing guard for the Divine supremacy." 18

The immediate resurgence of revivalism in the army after Fredericksburg made it easier for soldier and civilian to believe in God's continuing interest in the South. Who could deny divine aid when so many young men sought to save their immortal souls while they fought to save the land? Preachers led as many as three services on the Sabbath. Pastors from all sections visited the lines to participate in this amazing movement. The interest was even greater than before the battle at Fredericksburg. Throughout the army chaplains formed associations to coordinate their work.

The revivals spread through Confederate units or army fronts. Interest was strongest in Virginia and this area received most of the publicity, but the spirit was not absent elsewhere. Unfortunately for chaplains, most of the regiments in the West moved more often than those in Virginia. As a consequence, fewer prolonged seasons of religious interest were possible. But even in the lines near Chattanooga, a chaplain reported that interest pervaded "all classes." Further west, however, ajejacental laborer wrote "nothing is farther from their minds," when he considered the lack of spiritual enthusiasm among the men of his unit. 19


19 Dwight Bancroft (near Franklin, Va.) to "Dear Sister," April 7, 1863, W. L. Anderson-Bancroft Papers; Rev. William Bliss (no place) to J. L. Mitchell, April 24, 1863, M. L. Mitchell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Ferris, Great Revival, 315; T. J. Richardson (Tullahoma, Tenn.) to W. N. Smith, February 22, 1863, W. N. Smith Papers.
Civilians at home never forgot the men at the front. They stripped carpets from the sanctuary and cut them up for blankets. Women nursed the sick in hospitals, sewed and knitted, and gathered funds for the chaplains. Soldiers particularly appreciated the religious readings. By the spring of 1863, tractions were higher than ever for sending church papers to the men in gray. The Southern Presbyterian forwarded two thousand copies each week and the other papers were not far behind. At the same time, the Committee of Publication had twenty tracts in print. These booklets were eagerly received in the army. Small and easy to read, they passed from hand to hand. Each carried a message of orthodox theology and chaplains were never able to maintain an adequate supply of those little pamphlets, which portrayed God's power to save souls and punish the unrighteous. Not only tracts, but numerous other publications reminded the men at the front of the "manifest hand of God in our Revolution." 20

Tracts were in such demand that a daring scheme was conceived. At the suggestion of his brother, Moses Hope agreed to slip through the blockade to England to purchase tracts and Testaments there. Sponsored by the Virginia Bible Society and equipped with Letters of Introduction to British ministers, he left Charleston late in 1862. He stopped first at Havana and then at Nassau, where the local Bible Society donated twelve hundred Testaments to the Confederate army. While churchmen waited to hear of his arrival in Britain, donations poured in to finance Hope's

---

20 32, April 9, 1863; J. H. Ford, In Aid of the Confederate Soldiers of the Southwest (Chesapeake, 1937; 1962). For a list of tracts published by the Committee of Publication, see: Crouch, Confederate Institute, 23, 1862-65; Richard R. Harrell, "Free Confederate Institute" (Richmond, 1967), 17, 283-294.
venture. People of all denominations contributed to this cause and waited for news of his accomplishments. By the end of April, they learned that he had obtained a large grant of publications from various British societies which would provide one tract for every three men in the Confederate Army. For many, this was another indication that the civilized nations of the world recognized the justice of the South's battle to drive out the invader. 21

During the period that news of Hoge's successes filled church papers, the army revivals continued. Not until spring and the preparations for another season of campaigning, did religious interest wane. As action resumed in the front lines, Southerners watched developments in Northern Virginia, where Lee's army prepared to battle the Army of the Potomac. Both forces concentrated along the Rappahannock, near the site of the battle for Fredericksburg in December. In the West, reports indicated that a large force under Grant had crossed the Mississippi below Vicksburg and moved toward that great bastion.

Spring and warm weather turned the interest of Confederates to the renewed action at the front and focused Presbyterian attention on the coming General Assembly in Columbia. After the poor attendance in 1862, presbyteries sought commissioners who could make the trip to Columbia. Much was expected from this gathering, for in the interval since the formation of the Assembly in Augusta, a number of problems had arisen which demanded attention. The necessity of providing more

---

21 Hoge returned in October, but most of his consignment of 17,000 Bibles, 50,000 Testaments, and 35,000 Gospels and Psalms never reached the Confederacy. Rev. W. D. Hoge (Charleston, S. C.) to R. S. Ewell, December 24, 1862, MS, James H. Wall Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; "Diary of Moses Drury Hoge, 1863," MS, Mrs. Deward Swaller, Jr., Richmond, Virginia, fili at Rice University; CC, March 12, April 27, 1863, July 22, 1864.
opinions for Confederate regiments and further action on the proposals
to unify all Confederate Presbyterians merited prime consideration. A
number of churchmen still worried about the desecration of the Sabbath,
and they wanted the Assembly to take positive action on this matter.

The Assembly opened in the Presbyterian Church in Columbia on
May 7, 1861. A good representation of more than sixty commissioners
attended the opening sermon by the retiring moderator. This group, which
included a number of the leading personalities in the church, then
elected James L. Lynn as the new moderator. This election indicated
the willingness to consider some of the ticklish matters before the
Assembly. The commissioners further emphasized their desire for positive
action when they decided to hold one session daily and leave as much
time as possible for committee meetings and discussion. Throughout the
Assembly, the commissioners worked on many matters in preliminary con-
versations and then used the open session to consider problems of real
significance.

The meeting covered a thrilling news from Virginia. Again,
the Lee and Jackson had stopped every as he moved toward Richmond. Then, it
became clear that the Union army had been routed and almost encircled
before it slipped back across the Rappahannock. There was a touch of
reverie about this victory near the little Virginia town of Chancellors-
ville, however. Jackson, the mighty Stonewall, was mistakenly shot by
Confederate sentries while reconnoitering the results of the battle.
First reports described his recovery. Then, on May 11, the Assembly
learned of his death. Palmer rose to address the commissioners on the
great bereavement. For long painful minutes, he held the audience "en-
chained in relation to that mysterious dispensation of Providence." When
he concluded, the Moderator selected Palmer to head a committee to draft a resolution of mourning "with reference to this most public calamity."
A few days later, when the committee completed its work, the resolution recorded the depth of sadness at the passing of "a warm and zealous Christian, a man that feared God and walked carefully before Him." The praise of the departed general indicated the high admiration those churchmen reserved for the Presbyterian who could defend the land with the sword as well as with the spirit. The resolution added that the Assembly would not attempt to interpret God's purpose in taking this man at such a time, but they did assert that now "God seems to us only the more to have charged Himself with the care and protection of this struggling Republic."  

Beginning with the second session, the topic of church union dominated the Assembly. On that day, E. Y. Russel from the Independent Presbyterian spoke to the commissioners after receiving a warm reception. His address indicated that he favored church union and Moderator Lyon's reply created a similar impression. In private conversation over the weekend, Russel and a number of the commissioners realized anew their mutual desire to merge.

Just before Russel addressed the Assembly, it heard a report from the delegate to the Associate Reformed Synod the previous year. This report noted that the A. R. P. Church seemed willing to proceed with negotiations for union and had selected a committee to confer with the Assembly on questions involving Psalmody. Later, the delegate from the A. R. P. Synod, P. C. Prior, spoke to the commissioners. After portraying

---

the serious inroads of the war on his church, Prior described the division in his group over the Assembly’s offer to include the Psalms in a new hymnal. One faction thought this was merely a meaningless gesture to mollify A. R. P. insistence on use of the Psalms, but the other group thought the Assembly was sincere in promises not only to include the Psalms but to use them as well. Prior, himself, inferred his own belief that the day of union in the church was not far distant.23

The proposed new hymnal was a key item in any merger with the Associate Reformed Synod. Although the 1961 Assembly selected a committee to revise this book, it had not been able to meet until the month before the present session. In that brief period of time, however, the group prepared a proposed compilation of songs, listing 225 old hymns and fifty new ones, and included the Psalms to comply with A. R. P. desires. In accepting the report, the Assembly directed the revision group to meet with the merger conferences appointed by the A. R. P. Synod to work out the details of the hymnal.24

Two Virginia presbyteries overruled the Assembly to work toward a union with the United Synod, noting the apparent desire for cooperation in both church groups. An assembly committee, reporting on the two proposals, said the desire for union between the Synod and the Assembly was "general, and becoming every day stronger." This committee recommended that a committee be selected to meet with a similar group from the United

24 VSA, 1762, 1763, 1764-1765, 1765-1766. Among the "new" hymns were: "I heard the voice of Jesus say," "Just as I am, without one plea," "Majestic Sweetness sits enthroned," and "My faith looks up to Thee."
Synod to work out the details of a proposed merger.

On the next to last day of the Assembly, the commissioners acted to join all four Presbyterian bodies in the Confederacy into one organization. They selected a committee of seven men, headed by John N. Waddel and Robert L. Dobney and heavily sprinkled with Virginians, to meet with the United Synod. In reference to the A. E. P. church, they declared their good faith in promising to include the Psalms in the new hymnal "in an equal footing" with the songs. Then, they indicated their hope of merger with the Independent Presbyterian, "if a satisfactory basis of union can be agreed upon," and referred this matter to the Synod of South Carolina. 25

Throughout the Assembly there were many indications of the war's pressure on the church. Once more the subject of the report on slavery was discussed and referred to a committee for future action. Reports from the Executive Committees revealed that education was languishing, domestic missions now handled little except army missions, and foreign missions resolutely continued to supply the scattered missionaries with the needed materials. Only the Publications Committee could show evidence of marked advancement. The Children's Friend now had a circulation of ten thousand copies and twenty-six tracts were available for distribution. Almost three million copies of religious literature had already been distributed in the army and the Committee was able to report a cash balance on hand. After hearing these reports, the Assembly decided to combine the Executive Committees until the return of peace, placing both missions groups under the direction of J. Leighton Wilson in Columbia, and giving

25 "West Hanover Presbytery, 1861-1867," 53-54 (April 17, 1863); "East Hanover Presbytery, 1843-1867," (May 17, 1861); "Ch., 1863, 135-147."
John Leyburn administration of publications and education in Richmond. 26

Long discussion centered on the proper means of providing chaplains for the army. The Domestic Missions Committee described the difficulties of obtaining Confederate commissions for prospective chaplains. A number of men had preached to the soldiers shared their experience with the commissioners and reemphasized the pressing need for more evangelists in the camps. In this subject, the "minds and hearts of the Assembly were a unit. . . . The feeling was that our cause is God's cause; that the battle is the Lord's." Finally, the churchmen decided to send "commissioners" to each of the armies of the Confederacy to coordinate and supervise Presbyterians within their area. These men also would attempt to locate regiments which desired a chaplain and then try to place the right man with them.

Two old subjects of continuing interest came to the floor of debate. The first concerned the lingering dispute over Sabbath observance. Near the end of the meeting, an elder read a letter from Jackson -- perhaps one of the last communications from him -- which expressed a desire for the commissioners to take positive action to bring a halt to carrying the mails on the Sabbath. With such a recommendation, the commissioners unanimously recorded their condemnation of the Sabbath delivery and moved on to the topic of Thornwell's earlier suggestion to recognize Christianity in the Confederate Constitution. Numerous men of prestige in the church questioned the wisdom of such a recognition. One minister doubted the "pertinence, significance, and usefulness" of the suggestion and another argued that this idea would exclude "all honest

26 SP, May 28, 1863; NCA, 1863, 126-175.
unbelievers" from the government. But the proponents defended their proposed amendment: "Nevertheless we, the people of the Confederate States, distinctly acknowledge our responsibility to God, and the supremacy of His Son, Jesus Christ, as King of kings and Lord of lords; and do hereby ordain that no law shall be passed by the Congress of these Confederate States inconsistent with the will of God, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures." Finally, after a lengthy discussion which indicated that a large number of ministers objected to the purpose of the suggestion, the motion was withdrawn without a vote.27

Near the end of the assembly, the commissioners listened to the narrative of the previous year's work. This summation expressed deep concern over the "growing profanation of the Sabbath," declining interest in Sabbath schools and the absence of revivals. In the other hand, there were indications of God's favor -- the devoted service to the Negroes, continued liberality toward benevolent work, and the "deep interest in the welfare of our soldiers." With this description of their problems and accomplishments fresh in their minds, the churchmen ordered publication of a complete statistical report of all congregations, and adjourned -- to reconvene in 1864 in Charlotte, North Carolina.28

A week after the assembly adjourned, the United Synod gathered in Knoxville, where it had formed five years earlier. Twenty-seven commissioners faced most of the same issues as their brethren who met in Columbia.

27 Augusta Weekly Chronicle and Sentinel, May 19, 1863; Waddel Diary, May 9, 1863; Jackson, Memoirs of Jackson, 75-76; "The Rev. Dr. Thornwell's Memorial on the Recognition of Christianity in the Constitution," JPB, XVI (1863-1866), 77-87.

Their hope of missions organization was almost extinct. Education was
"paralyzed," with "anyville College closed and all but the ministerial
candidate in the army. The dismal present caused these men to turn
their attention to the future. These commissioners eagerly considered
the assembly proposal for merger and unanimously accepted it. Then,
they appointed a committee to meet with the assembly's group "to arrange
a formal union of the Presbyterian churches of the south, upon the basis
of the Confession of Faith and Form of Government." 29

The positive steps toward formation of a unified Presbyterian
Church in the Confederacy pleased many churchmen. Although South
Carolinians still hesitated about acceptance of the "United Synod, they
hoped for a successful negotiation with both the Associate Reformed
Synod and the Independent Presbyterian. Yet, the words of commendation
for the actions of the assembly and "United Synod meetings could not
drown out the sounds of sorrow which still rose over the death of Jackson.
The death blow shook the foundations of the land. Men of deep faith
could not trust the purposes of the general's death. "The blow is so
heavy and stunning that we have not the heart to dwell upon it," con-
cluded one editor who repeated the earlier suggestion that Jackson's pass-
ing might be a warning to the nation to rely less on flesh and more on
spirit. A "Virginia minister admonished his congregation to use the ex-
deacent's spiritual example as a model for their own lives. Like the
general, even the humble communicant must make the "constant resorture of
his soul one of unhesitating confidence in God."

When the congregation of Richmond's First Church listened to their

29 22, May 27-June 11, 1863.
minister commenurate the departed leader, "audible sobs" were heard throughout the audience and at one time, fully one third of the crowd was in tears. But it remained for Patsey, Jackson's friend and comrade in both peace and war, to explain the tragedy of the passing of the general. "Our dead hero is God's sermon to us," asserted the solemn theologian. Every Confederate citizen should study the personality of this "master-spirit," who exemplified strength through faith. God destined him for this brief demonstration to the South of spiritual might, even in the face of death. With such a faith, the land would be saved by following Jackson's example that "it is righteousness that exalts." 30

Chapter X "The ways of Zion do mourn"

"We may regard these reverses as a rebuke for our self-reliance," stated the *Southern Presbyterian*, when the news of the defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg became clearly understood in the South. After claiming that Vicksburg would be saved and Lee had thrown the entire Union into panic with his march into Pennsylvania, the journalists had to admit their false optimism. History had escaped — Lee's fallen regiments sustained heavy losses and Vicksburg's garrison surrendered after weeks of siege. But newspapers and preachers advised the public to understand God's displeasure with the South, and to remember they would not forget them.

Before Presbyterians had time to forget the double defeats of July, church leaders began to discuss the promising indications of immediate action concerning the Columbia Assembly's attempt to promote union between the Presbyterian organizations of the Confederacy. First negotiations related to the United Synod, largest and most important of the three groups in question. It was readily apparent that the two committees selected to formulate the terms of merger were composed of men acquainted with each other's theological attitudes and the laymen of the groups, particularly in Virginia, strongly favored union. Under these optimistic circumstances, the two committee chairman, Robert L. Babney and Joseph C. Stiles, called a joint meeting in Lynchburg, Virginia, on July 24.

When the two committees met at First Church in Lynchburg, there was a moment of indecision and embarrassed silence. Then, Babney rose and opened the discussion with a lengthy explanation of the attitude of

---

1 *EB*, July 30, 1863.
the Assembly and the members of his committee. By the time he concluded, most of the fears of the United Synod men were removed, for they had wondered about Dabney's strong conservatism and expected him to demand some test of their orthodoxy. Then, the churchmen enjoyed a free exchange of opinion before selecting Stiles and Dabney to draw up the statement of belief and plan of union. The result of their labors, with minor amendments, was accepted unanimously. It provided for a fusion of the two religious bodies under the name of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, with no religious examination of ministers or laymen. They recorded their belief in the same doctrine and asserted the union "will glorify God by promoting peace, and removing the dishonor done to religion by former separations." After the merger, all benevolent activities would be directed by the Assembly committees, and United Synod presbyteries would be received by Assembly synods, with new presbyterial boundaries to be drawn by the enlarged synods.²

Reaction to this suddenly promising turn of events was favorable, except in South Carolina. There, the Southern Presbyterian explained the doubts of some ministers, particularly Ben Palmer and John L. Alden, over the theological purity of the United Synod clergy. For a time, a running battle ensued between the Southern and the Christian Observer over the wisdom of the merger, but most observers approved the plan, if for no other reason, because of the prestige and orthodoxy of the men involved in the planning session. If men of such narrow conservatism as Dabney and A. H. H. Boyd of the United Synod could accept this plan, others believed it was safe. Meanwhile, presbyteries all over the South

---

indicated their approval of the plan and recommended that the 1866 United Synod and General Assembly take final action to complete the union. Most agreed with the sentiments of a Virginia presbytery, which voted its approval of unification "on terms which we confidently believe would contribute much to the highest interest of both parties and to the glory of God."  

The Independent Presbytery acted next. At the General Convention of this group, held in vicinity in York District, South Carolina, the Presbytery heard a delegate from the Assembly and then decided to lay aside "all prejudiced and party feelings" and merge with the Assembly in an attempt to strengthen the body of believers. The terms of the agreement were almost identical to those agreed upon some years earlier, but the former "doctrinal reservations" were no longer included, although the four Independent ministers were "allowed" to hold their doctrinal position "without reservation." According to the understanding between this small organization and the Synod of South Carolina, ministers and congregations would be received into Bethel Presbytery in full equality. When Bethel Presbytery acted upon the formal application of the Independents for union it voted its "unreserved confidence" in the orthodoxy of the prospective members. Soon, the Synod of South Carolina accepted the proposal and recorded its belief that "to heal schism is not only a delightful, but a holy and a heavenly work." Finally, in December, at the little church of Yorkville, where R. Y. Russell had preached so long, the merger was consummated in a touching ceremony as Bethel Presbytery met with the Independent Presbytery, and signified the union by extending

---

3 CP, October 22, 1862; "Records of Greenbrier Presbytery, 1860-1868," 70 (October 19, 1862), W&M, Union Seminary.
the hand of fellowship — thus ending more than five decades of division.⁴

Discussions with the A. R. P. members were much more tedious because of the differences over closed communion and use of the Psalms. The A. R. P. presbyteries considered the merger proposal and either approved the spirit of the suggestion or deferred action due to small representation. In each case, there was some reservation because of unwillingness to part with the old tradition of using only Psalms in the worship service. One A. R. P. minister, writing in the Southern Presbyterian Review, hoped the union, which had been discussed for two decades could be realized at last, but he thought a compromise on psalmody was the only solution.

The leading opponent to union, John S. Pressly, died in midsummer and enhanced hopes for further discussion on merger. When the A. R. P. Synod met in September, 1763, Joseph R. Wilson addressed the Synod for some time and explained the views of the Assembly on all matters of contention. After listening to the Assembly delegate, the A. R. P. commissioners approved a motion to allow congregations to decide the matter of communion, but voted to defer any decision on psalmody or union until 1764, because of the small representation at the meeting. But as they adjourned, they did announce "we are encouraged to hope that this union will be eventually consummated."⁵

Throughout the church, individuals and congregations reflected the growing optimism over combining all Presbyterians in one body. In

⁴ CO, September 17, 1763; Russell, "Laboris in the Ministry," 47-49 (August 13, 1763), 57-63 (December 11, 1763); "Bethel Presbytery, 1750-1760," 203 (October 2, 1763); "South Carolina Synod, 1750-1761," 174 (November 5, 1763).

⁵ Agnew Diary, II, 362 (April 26, 1763); Edmund L. Pettor, "Psalmody and the Union," SEB, IV (1762-1763), 47-47; CO, August 27, 1763; "Associate Reformed Synod, 1760-1774," 127-128 (September 21-23, 1763).
the fall meetings of presbyteries and synods, this sentiment was the
basis for numerous resolutions and proposals. At the same time, however,
when these groups considered the state of religion around them, they
were sad and dejected. Everywhere the result of two and one-half years
of carnage and strife was all too evident. Fortunate indeed, was the
church group that could profess happiness over the past year’s accomplish-
ments. There was mention of people enduring the "furnace of affliction"
in South Carolina, description of a "spiritual searce" in North Carolina,
and one presbytery cried out in despondency, "the ways of Zion do mourn."
Numerous references pointed to the Lord’s influence in the land and the
people prayerfully called on Him for protection. Now only the Lord could
save His people.⁶

These churchmen did not fail to mention the continued religious
interest in the army. After a summer of arduous campaigning against the
Yankee, the army once more turned to its battle with "sin-er." By this
time, religious organizations were better prepared to serve the interests
of the men in the camps. Prominent clergymen again flocked to camps to
rescue the perishing. The scenes were reminiscent of the two previous
winters, except that audiences were larger and the preachers were more
emphatic in their insistence of the need for reliance on God. From the
camps came the cry, "there never was a field so white as that the army
now presents."

New chapels were built to hold the interested crowds, but often
there was no building. One minister described his preaching in a camp
near Atlanta:

---

⁶ "South Carolina Synod, 1862-1863," 135 (November 7, 1863); "Fayetteville
Presbytery, 1850-1873," 203 (October 10, 1863); "Florida Presbytery, 1860-
1875," 74 (October 30, 1863).
Our methods were simple... A semi-circle of logs formed our audience room, whose ceiling was a canopy of blue... A frame resting on the forks of poles driven into the earth and covered with clay, or which pine knots were piled, was our... Chandelier. Beside this stood the preacher. Our assembling hall was a volume of praise rolling from a half hundred many voices. Fifty men, the centre of active religious life in the brigade, gathered in the early evening; and psalm and hymn, rising in resounding chorus, called the men to worship. From every quarter, in answer to this call they came.7

This church marshalled all its resources to meet the needs of the camps. With eager souls yearning for the message of salvation, the faithful could not be still. They offered their time and their talents to serve the men in gray. Whether in camp or hospital, the soldiers were not forgotten. Prayers sought divine guidance for their souls and healing for their bodies. Even children were urged to join in the movement; "you can send or carry them some nice little thing -- vegetables, or fruit, or milk, or real fresh bread; and if you should take a bunch of flowers along, so much the better."

By the winter of 1863-1864, approximately one hundred Presbyterian ministers were serving with the army in some capacity. About eighty of these were missionaries under appointment from the Committee of Domestic Missions, supervised by the eight commissioners appointed by the 1863 assembly. Most of these ministers with the army were supported by the Committee of Domestic Missions -- an outlay of some eight thousand dollars per month.8 But this Committee was not satisfied to rest on its laurels and still maintained a hope to have a Presbyterian minister in every

7 SP, July 2, 1863; J. L. Power, Address at the Unveiling of the Monument to Rev. Thomas S. Markham, M. D., Metairie Cemetery, New Orleans, May 20, 1866 (New Orleans, 1867), 17-11.

brigade in the army, a goal which it almost accomplished by the end of
the revival season.

Presbyterian efforts in supplying the soldiers with religious
literature were also increasing. Church papers frequently announced an
increase in the number of issues going to the camps, financed with
donations from readers. The Central Presbyterian sent two thousand
copies per week, the Christian Observer, three thousand, and the Southern
Presbyterian forwarded four thousand issues — perhaps the largest army
distribution of any religious paper in the South. At the same time, the
Committee of Publications issued more tracts, plus two hymnbooks for
camp use.

The Presbyterian contribution to this army religious movement was
sizeable in comparison with the other denominations of the South. The
Assembly was the first religious body to work out a plan to furnish mis-
sionaries and chaplains systematically and to supply them with expenses.
Also, the tracts issued by the Committee of Publication were highly
praised for their quality and the number of pages distributed from
Presbyterian agencies was very high when the limited membership of the
church was considered.9

In August 1863, the first issue of the Soldier's Visitor appeared.
This small, four page monthly paper included small articles of religious
interest, in addition to at least one complete tract. The first issue
explained that the paper was intended to help the soldiers pass away
the weary hours with something more profitable than a "greasy pack of

9 CB, November 11, 26, 1863; CB, August 27, 1863; Daniel, "An Aspect of
Church and State Relations," JSTOR, 231 (1869), 56-77; Horton, "Chaplaincy,"
263-264; Daniel, "Church in the Confederate States," 75. For a table show-
ing figures of religious literature distributed in the army, see Lomax,
cards" or "bad books." Each issue admonished the men in the ranks to beware of the sins of the camp and to remember that God was in the struggle against both sin and the invader. If the fighting man wondered about the military struggle, he should recall that "from the commencement of this great struggle, there has been abundant and unmistakable evidence of the hand of God in it." 10

While large contributions financed the Soldier's Visitor, other church papers suffered from the effects of inflation and scarcity. At the end of 1863, the Confederate Telescope, organ of the A. F. & A. M. lodge, suspended "for want of proper support." In the summer and fall of 1864, every weekly church paper except the North Carolina Presbyterian missed some issues. The Lutheran Presbyterian was forced to suspend publication for four months, when expenses exceeded income by more than ten thousand dollars. Their editor John Porter resumed the Lutheran in October, he moved his office to Augusta, because of the availability of paper.

Subscription rates skyrocketed in 1864. By the end of the year, each paper charged at least ten dollars for six months subscription and would not guarantee the rate for more than one-half year in advance. Paper increased in price almost as fast as it decreased in quality. Ink was scarce and type irreplaceable. Printers were called out to defend Richmond and rail service broke down. Most of these papers received smaller amounts of cash from the summer of 1864 on, and all of them eventually went to the "cash system" and struck delinquent subscribers from their lists. 11

10 27, August, 1863; 28, February, 1864.
11 29, November 26, 1863; 27, July 14, 1864; 28, October 6, 1864; 30, December 15, 1864.
Financial difficulties finally overtook the *Southern Presbyterian Review*. This quarterly began the sixteenth volume in July, 1863, and was able to issue two more numbers of that volume by April, 1864, but then the editors could not promise another issue, "owing to insuperable difficulties." But while this reputable journal was unable to stave off its creditors, the *Children's Friend* increased in circulation, although it showed the effects of the war blockade. Supplies purchased in England went sour at sea and newspaper could not be located in sufficient quantity to guarantee consistent publication.\(^2\)

Scores of colleges also took their toll in the educational institutions. Many of the lesser institutions closed their doors when they could no longer withstand the rapid rise in prices, and other schools barely struggled along. Faculty salaries were often unpaid, and even if they were paid, the money was usually spent with little buying power. Preparatory departments attracted enough students to sustain some schools, for most men of college age were in the army and the only students available were either wounded soldiers, paralytics, or underage youths.

Davidson College, due to its substantial endowment, still weathered the financial storm "safe. To 1863-1864 session opened with a promising enrollment, but lowering of the conscription act took more than one-half of the students. Meanwhile, board increased rapidly and one of the literary societies agreed to quadruple all fines. Student discipline became one of a problem than previously and the faculty voted that any student requesting permission to visit nearby Charlotte must "pledge his word of honor not to purchase or transport or in any way use any kind of

\(^2\) Inside cover of April, 1864 issue, *CP*, 75:1 (1863-1864); CP April 16, 1863; *CP*, February 1, 1864.
spirits of liquors during his absence from college." Meanwhile, Hampden- Sydney continued in reasonably sound financial condition, but fees and tuition for the 1942-1943 session were doubled and faculty members had to turn to teaching private classes in order to have a dependable income.

Elsewhere, Tidewater University barely sustained itself and lost its guiding spirit when President Samuel H. Salads became mentally disabled.

In Texas, Austin College enjoyed the presence of more than one hundred young men, but small-box and rising prices of board threatened to curtail this academic property. 12

Both seminaries barely had enough students to continue regular lectures. Columbia had seven "enrollmnts" during the 1942-1944 session, but Truett did not have a student until January of 1944. Neither institution could pay "professors'" salaries. Buildings began to show the effects of disrepair and at Columbia, some dormitory rooms were turned over to refugees from captured areas of the South. 14

While the situation in both the home and military fronts indicated the creeping collapse of the Confederacy, schoolmen, editors, ministers, and laymen alike, tried to explain the meaning of defeat. Surely God was in control, but if so, why did He allow calamity to encircle the hopes of Zion? Most spokesmen agreed with the North Carolina minister who blamed "most of the suffering on the sins of the South." "Jehovah's controversy with our guilty land is not yet removed," he shouted, and


prophesied that the sufferings would continue, but the Confederacy would not be victorious. He and his colleagues described many of the failings that Southern prophets had fought for generations when they attempted to enumerate the sins of the land; gambling, "social dancing," the theatre, and "novel reading" were objects of stinging attack. Sabbath desecration, so obvious in the urgency of war, was said to be flagrant and communicants heard frequent reminders of their obligations to maintain the observance of the Lord's Day, in spite of the martial atmosphere in the land.

The temptations of the times aroused the clerical critics to war upon gambling, the evil as "pernicious to society." Profane swearing also excited their wrath. But speculation was the most frequently mentioned Southern sin. Prophets gave various labels to the practice of using indulgence for their own gain. "Intemperance," "avarice," and "covetousness," all were said to be the natural sin. Then Joseph C. Stiles, the brilliant "led by prod evangelist and chaplain, sought to describe the dangers of contemporary failings; he reserved his sharpest condemnation for the omnipresent "infamous rearing of the bowels after filthy lucre." At the same time, saloons and whiskey -- "the beverage of hell" in the editor's opinion -- attracted frequent complaints. 15

A few ministers were accused of falling before the lure of Satan during the conflict. Each instance attracted much notoriety as witnesses testified to the alleged sinner's guilt. During the course of the conflict,

15 Drury Lucas, Address Delivered at the General Military Hospital. Wilson, J. G., (Fayetteville, N. C., 1863); 25, July 17, October 15-22, November 17, 28, 1862; 182, March 13, 1864; G2, September 17, 1863; June 2, 1864; Joseph C. Stiles, National Revisited the only true basis of national prosperity . . . (Petersburg, 1863), 37; 27, February 17, 1863.
however, church roles were comparatively clear if cases involving public sin. The Roanoke Presbytery minister was charged with falsehood in calling an elder "a Jack Ass," but was found innocent. Despite his sequel, the moderator of presbytery admonished him to "be more circumspect . . . in his walk and conversation." In North Carolina, a pastor faced charges of being "freely addicted to the use of ardent spirits," "associating with others who were tippling," and having "lived in unprofitableness and levity as a clergyman." This man was publicly reprimanded, but another North Carolinian was suspended from the ministry after being found guilty of "falsehood" and "dishonorable conduct towards women." 16

The same man who was suspended from the ministry earlier had been charged with treason by Confederate authorities. When civil authorities found him "innocent of communicating military information to the enemy," many in the church were still not convinced of his innocence. Despite this case and a few others, there was little disloyalty within the Presbyterian ranks after the "traitors spoke out in the early months of the conflict. James C. Lyon and his son accused some sycophants and anarist in Mississippi when they continued to condemn secession, "not only as a great political heresy, but as an egregious blunder that would bring war and ruin upon the land." The younger Lyon was court-martialed and his father discussed the alleged follies of Confederate politicians, but he managed to maintain his pastorate.

Two instances of "moral sympathy" were recorded in Texas. Melinda Rankir, a missionary teacher in Brownsville, was driven out of the town by violent mobs. Having been taken to the city jail, she was released, but her family was forced to flee. 16

---

after local citizens discovered her anti-Confederate leanings. At the same time, Thaddeus McRae, minister at Port Lavaca, would not verbally defend the Confederacy or Jefferson Davis. Soon, a vigilance committee indicated its intention to hang McRae as a traitor to the Southern cause and he fled to the safety of Union-held New Orleans.17

While it was comparatively easy to be a loyal Confederate in the quiet of territory south of the war zone, those unfortunate souls who were behind enemy lines were forced to teror courage with reality. Military authorities pressured all individuals to take the oath of allegiance to the United States and anyone who failed to do so was subject to arrest and exile. Under such circumstances, a number of former Confederates took the oath, particularly in New Orleans, which had been under Union control since April, 1862. Ben Palmer considered this a threat to Dixie and a personal matter as well, since some of the persons involved were members of his old congregation. In a public letter to a Louisiana Congressman, Palmer called on all followers of the Stars and Bars to disavow the oath if they had taken it, and if they had not taken it, to face death rather than do so. Thus, they would serve their nation as if they were in the army. Also, they must realize that taking such an oath would make them a traitor to their own land. "Choose the dungeon and the scaffold a thousand times," he begged, "rather than transmit the taint of this leprosy to your offspring."18


A few Presbyterians in the Border States persisted in refusing to support the United States in their public statements and sermons. Most of these men were born in the South and would probably have affiliated with the Presbyterian Church in the Confederacy if possible. How many men in the states of Kentucky and Missouri — where the Presbyterian clergy was heavily stocked with men from Dixie — secretly yearned for a Southern victory cannot be determined. A few dared to speak out and suffered from their courage. The minister at St. Charles, Missouri, Dr. Farris, refused to take the oath and was tried, convicted, and served six months in military prison before being paroled. He was finally released in 1862, but Farris was harassed throughout the conflict for his secessionist sympathies.

A more noted case involved the pastor of the Pine Street Church in St. Louis, Samuel E. McSheeters, who refused to take the oath in 1861. Eventually, a group within his congregation demanded he make a public statement of his political views. After he refused to do so, he was entered both military and church courts and was finally ordered to vacate his pastorate. Soon, military authorities arrested him and eventually banished him from the state. In the church, McSheeters carried his case to the General Assembly and begged the personal assistance of Lincoln to remove the military interference with his preaching. As the case achieved much publicity in both North and South, Confederates acclaimed McSheeters as a hero of Dixie, while he was attacked as a traitor in the North.19

In Kentucky, the situation was even more turbulent. Two notable Confederate sympathizers, Thomas A. Hoyt and Stuart Robinson, aroused the opposition of local authorities. First, Robinson's paper, the *True Presbyterian* was suppressed as a rebel sheet, and then both men fled to avoid trial and probable imprisonment. While their cases attracted wide publicity on both sides of the lines, Kentucky churchmen heard of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and listened to a number of politically-oriented declarations by the Old School Assembly. To the surprise of many observers, Robert R. Breckinridge condemned the proposal to end slavery in the rebellious areas of the old "Union" and led a movement in Louisville Presbytery to criticize assembly endorsement of the Proclamation. His action resulted in sharp cleavage within the Synod of Kentucky when that body discussed the question in the autumn of 1861. This debate over the affiliation between politics and religion in the United States, already had produced a strong protest against plans to place Northern missionaries in charge of congregations in conquered areas of the South and now threatened to alienate many Kentucky Presbyterians from the Old School.20

While some optimists considered the possibility of future fusion of many Kentucky Presbyterians with the Southern church, backers of church union in the South continued their efforts to join the United Synod and the Associate Reformed Synod of the South to the Confederate Assembly. Since the A. R. S. Synod usually met in September, attention first focused on the plan to bring in the United Synod. The only vocal

20 *SR, August 7, November 27, 1862; Louisville *Presbyterian, 1867-1869*, 561-564 (April 18, 1864), 561-562 (August 27, 1864); *Minutes of the Synod of Kentucky, 1864* (Np, 1864), 12 (October 17, 1864).
opposition to the Synod centered in South Carolina with "Union" fans being the strongest proponents of merger. Letters and articles published in the Southern Presbyterian doubted the religious purity of many United Synod ministers, especially A. H. V. Boyd, while the Central Presbyterian defended both the United Synod and the conduct of the merger discussions.

Ben Palmer hurled the night of his prestige and theological insight against the United Synod in a lengthy article in the Southern Presbyterian Review. This article, which appeared just prior to the 1962 Assembly, attacked the United Synod on numerous grounds. He aimed personal barbs at Boyd, saying the "Unionist" was "drifting into open and confessed Universalism." Palmer also objected to the phraseology of the merger agreement, particularly the statement which maintained "removing the dishonest tone to religion by former separations." According to Palmer and his cohorts in South Carolina, the split between the Old and New Schools in 1940 was "one of the most beneficent and glorious reforms which grace the annals of the church." This led to his basic charge against the Synod — theological heresy. The doctrinal basis of the merger was weak and would transform the church into "the nest of a thousand heresies."

The matter would obviously come to a final decision at the meeting of the Assembly in Charlotte, beginning May 5. Then, any subsequent action might be handled at the United Synod meeting two weeks later, at Dublin, Virginia. As the time for the Charlotte meeting neared, Palmer prepared to defend the merger which he so strongly desired. He wrote letters to a number of the commissioners, presenting his point of view.

and asking their support.

When the commissioners gathered, only a small percentage of the sixty-six delegates were from synods west of the Atlantic Coast. But the roll did include many of the leading minds of the denomination, all awaiting the debate over union with the United Church.

Opening day formalities included the election of John J. Wilson of Atlanta as "president and "deacon" to open the first session of each year in "special meeting, with reference to the impanelled condition of our church and country." Committee reports occupied most of the second day. The Trustees of the Assemblies had been able to incorporate under a charter from the state of Tennessee and the conference to revise the form of Government and Book of Discipline presented a proress report and requested an extension until 1865. The conference considered the site for the 1865 Assembly, they unanimously selected Macon, Georgia.

The highlight of the day was the report from the Committee of Domestic Missionary. Although some missions had almost vanished, the work in the army was a glorious record. E. Leighton Wilson proudly recounted the success of Brethren and chaplains and missionaries in the camps and hospitals. The committees in the various armies reported conversions of some 15,000 men in the past year and now Wilson hoped to enlist more men to "take the army permanently." He had enlisted the aid of a number of synods in a plan to send perhaps 125 men to the front — almost one-fourth of the ministerial force of the church — and already had more than one hundred men committed to participate in this plan. Wilson praised the work of the missionaries and the generous donations which had made their work possible, saying, "history has recorded nothing of the kind, and well may we, as a people, feel assured that God regards
The third session was devoted to reports on education and publication. The statements concerning education were completely illogical, for there was little money available for this work and all of the candidates were in the army. As in the case of army ministers, the report on publications reflected brilliant achievement. Through diligence and fortunate procurement of materials, the committee had forty-six tracts in print, plus the two copious books, the Soldier's Magazine and the Children's Friend. A compilation of the people's work amounted to the publication of 2,000,000 million pages in the tracts. 23

Near the end of the January session, Polkay proposed that debate on the motion with the United States be made the order of the day for January. This afforded a weekend of recuperation, before the solemn Virginian rose to deliver the report of the former committee. His report touched off four days of Mary but courteous debate. Polkay was well prepared to defend his cause with lengthy and detailed notes, in which he anticipated the arguments of the opposition. His target always was for unreasonableness, "as let bygones be bygones." He noted his claim that the United States did not sally, but he did claim their theological orthodoxy. At the same time, he rejected it that the clergy of the two bodies had no differences whatever.

Throughout the debate, Polkay was the leading influence, "offering powerful and lucid" explanations of the plan of union and overwhelming his critics with theological reasoning. Church divisions, he warned, were divisions of the spirit and clearly contrary to the divine plan.

---

22 vol. 1562, 363-417; 513-312; 61, May 19, 1664; Charlotte Weekly Democrat, May 21, 1664.

23 vol. 1664, 242-551, 385-333.
 Votes Nohe re-imposed Feshner, saying he desired a pure church and believed the proposed merger would produce such a group. As the highly-respected Virginian faced the Assembly, he averred "that God's providence is calling the church to greater unity now." 24

Palmer led the opposition, arguing in his usual impassioned manner that the plan endangered the unity of the church. Taking most of his points on the history of the United Synod, he claimed many Synod ministers had associated too long with the "New School heretics of the North." At one point, he inferred that they were serious in their desires and hoped to subvert the unity of the Assembly. John T. Adger joined Palmer and argued that the Assembly had no authority to conclude the proposed union in the first place. 25

At one point in the debate, an elder expressed the perplexity of a layman lost in the intricacies of belief and church doctrine. As far as he could understand, both factions "seemed all right," but the arguments had "got away up out of sight among the mysteries and mysteries of theology." In this situation, he wondered if the argument could not be compromised. Quickly, the Assembly accepted a proposal to refer the entire matter to a committee of one minister and one elder from each Synod represented.

This group, headed by Lyer, considered the matter and recommended a simpler plan than had been accepted by the two committees at Lynchburg, the previous July. This plan eliminated most of the doctrinal questions.

24 "Heads of Argument in Support of Representative Committee of Conference on Union with United Synod," Daily Presbyterian, February 24, 1842; September 13, 1842.
and made the Confession of Faith the basis of union. The committee removed any stigma of the old spirit and exercised great care to provide that United Synod presbyteries came into the Assembly synods as separate congregations. On that basis, the Assembly finally approved the merger, with seven votes cast against the new proposal — all but one being from South Carolinians — and only two men opposed the spirit of the measure. 26

United Synod members were overjoyed when they heard of this decision. As far as they were concerned, the recent changes were of little importance and they were eager to complete the merger without delay. "Military operations prevented quick action, however. A Union raid near the site of the Synod meeting cut communications with the area east of the mountains, and on the day set for the opening of Synod, no commissioners were present.

After this disappointment, ministers and elders in the Synod requested a special meeting before the fall presbytery meetings and insisted that the offer of the Assembly not be unheeded. Their insistence resulted in a call for a meeting in Lynchburg on August 25.

When this date arrived, seventeen men were present to decide the future of the young denomination. Barely one-half of the presbyteries were represented, for the war had ravaged the areas of many United Synod congregations.

From the opening sermon, the desire for union within the United Synod was readily apparent. On the second day of the discussions, two delegates from the Assembly addressed the commissioners and expressed the hope of all Confederate Presbyterians that this union be completed.

---

26 Charlotte Weekly Democrat, May 17, 1864; Maclay Diary, May 13, 1864. The final draft of the plan of union is printed in 26, July 14, 1864.
and one delegate revealed his understanding of the destiny of the two churches when he declared, "the sin of God has been manifest in the whole movement." Next, the Synod heard detailed reports of the Lynchburg discussions in 1863 and the recent Assembly. Then, a committee retired to prepare a recommendation for the Synod. When this group recommended acceptance of the Assembly’s amended plan, there was lengthy discussion and then unanimous approval of merger with the Assembly.27

Soon, presbyteries and synods completed the fusion of the two religious bodies. The two Synods of Virginia held simultaneous meetings in Lynchburg and officially joined. In the following Sabbath, Presbyterian corporations in Richmond held joint communion services to signify the mutual aspirations of the united denomination. Similar scenes occurred in Mississippi, and later in Texas. But the Southern Presbyterian feared for the future. This paper and a number of its readers accepted the accomplished fact, but mourned the loss of "old-fashioned Calvinism."28

Opponents unwise might have reserved their fears, for the merger guaranteed continued Old School orientation of Southern corporations. Since the United Synod seminary never opened, the funds collected for its endowment went to Union Seminary. men like Dabney realized the importance of this accomplishment. With Columbia and Union safely conservative in their theology, all future ministers would be schooled in the traditional attitudes of the Old School. Whether the war succeeded or failed, few believed Southern candidates would ever journey to

27 20, September 1-22, 1864.
28 20, October 20, November 17, 1864; Mississippi Synod, 1864, 696-697 (October 12, 1864); 25, December 23, 1864.
northern seminaries again. At the same time, all benevolent activities would be directed by the bodies organized by the Assembly. Thus, while this was called a merger, it was, in reality, an absorption of the United Synod by the Assembly.

While the major portion of the unification movement was being completed in Virginia, congregations of the old Independent Presbyterian merged with those of the Assembly in North and South Carolina, and the A. R. P. Synod gathered in South Carolina for its annual discussions. Many observers hoped the metamorphosis of merger would reach the Associate Reformed Synod, but these hopes died when only a handful of men gathered for the discussions and reports were available from only two Presbyteryries. Each of these reports offered "a very emphatic negative" on the question of "intercommunion." Although two pastors of the Assembly addressed the Synod on merger and stated the general desire of the Assembly to receive the A. R. P. congregations, the Synod decided to postpone action for yet another year. With poor representation, the commissioners hesitated to decide such an important matter. Also, the Presbyterian of Kentucky was highly concerned over the action of the United States Government in allowing United Presbyterian missionaries to take over A. R. P. churches in the South. Perhaps the basic reason for failure of the union movement within the A. R. P. Synod, however, was the union of the United Synod and the Assembly. A. R. P. members had always respected and trusted the Old School churchmen of the truth. While they disagreed with these men on the matters of psalmody and communion, they nevertheless thought them to be theologically sound. But the United Synod was another matter. In A. R. P. minds, this body was dangerous beyond doubt. At best they
were misinformed on theological questions — at worst, heretics. 29

By the time the union discussions ended, the truth faced severe problems due to every action. The war was wearing down the resistance and energy of the faithful. Missions were gone in most areas. Church buildings showed the scars of combat and ministers were in flight, leaving many congregations without regular preaching. Tithes sometimes filled these vacancies, but communicants often heard no sermons for months.

Ministers could hardly survive on their lower salaries. Some turned to teaching in order to support the families. Some congregations relieved the suffering of their pastors by donations of money and provisions. Churchmen saw their world crumbling around them. In every front, Southern forces no longer advanced, but valiantly tried to hold the line against increasing numbers. The tide of battle was exacting a fearful price. Every congregation mourned men lost in battle. Throughout the church, congregations and presbyteries prepared to care for the war orphans. But even these plans were temporary, for everything must "wait until this cruel war is over."

Funeral services filled the air. No longer could the sufferers mollyfy their grief with the thought of victory. Defeat was constantly present. Suffering was no longer understandable. Preachers described the dead as martyrs — lost in the fight for freedom — and frequently cited the religious nature of the men who fell in battle. Mourners were requested to "be patient, to believe that God was still watching the South

29 "Minutes of Presbytery of Concord, 1743-1774," 161-162 (September 6, 1764); "Bethel Presbytery, 1758-1789," 342 (September 30, 1764); 23, December 25, 1764; "Associate Reformed Synod, 1769-1774," 155-156 (September 29, 1764); "Minutes of A. R. P. Presbytery of Kentucky, 1771-1777," 372-378 (May 19, 1764).
and measuring its sufferings according to its ability to endure. But
the people no longer saw any evidence of God's mercy. He had become
God of anger and was wreaking His vengeance on the land. One man wrote,
"the price of liberty is blood, and thus sheekle by sheekle are we weigh-
ning out the sum at which our redemption is valued." But even he wondered
how high the price of freedom would reach.30

The army never wavered. Early in the autumn of 1864, accounts
described another rise of revival spirit in the camps. Just as in former
years, men turned to God to strengthen them in their battle against the
visible enemies of the land. The committee of Domestic Missions ap-
pealed for men and money to furnish the soldiers with literature and the
Gospel. The preaching was more fervent than before, with more mention
of the need for reliance on God.

Presbyterian clergymen hurried away at familiar themes as the war
pressed in upon the South. God was with the South and "He would not
desert the new Israel. The north was proudly resting on the arm of
flesh while God was teaching His people to rely on heaven. Ben Palmer
never doubted the success of the Confederate cause, for he said it had
always been on the side of justice and honor. "Our cause is preeminently
the cause of God Himself, and every blow struck by us is in defense of His

30 Postscript to diary of Robert E. Peck, "The R. E. Peck Papers,
Fortress. For Presbyterian sermons and writings on death, see:
(Columbia, S. C., 1864); Robert L. Sherer, A Memorial of Lieut. Colonel
John T. Thornton . . . (Richmond, 1864); Lindsey W. Flanor, Tell Me
Thou Good and Faithful Servant," Sermon on the death of Rev. John
H. Griffin . . . (Lynchburg, 1863); Joseph G. Stiles, Capt. Thomas E.
Heye: or, A Word to the Army and the Country (Charleston, 1864); U. D.
Moore, The Life and Works of Col. Henry Hughes . . . (Mobile, 1873);
William J. White, Sketches of the Life of Captain Hugh A. White . . .
(Columbia, S. C., 1864).
supremacy," he argued before the Georgia legislature. In a letter addressed to the South Carolina Assembly, he declared the mission of the Confederacy was to preserve "God's right to rule the world." The battle thus became more than a struggle for right and freedom; it was for "the perpetuation of God." 31

Some spokesmen argued that suffering and defeat were the results of national sin. These sins were still continuing and God was urging the land. If we were not interested in the salvation of this land, he would allow it to fall under the Yankee heel. "The rod of the Almighty" had been laid on the back of the Confederacy and she should not ask for mercy, only justice. Joseph C. Stiles, in a widely read treatise, described the means of saving the broken land and hoped for "national rectitude," which he defined as "conformity to the invariable, agency and aim." 32

These prophets could not spare the helpless civilians from the angry invader, nor heal the suffering patients in the hospitals. Calumnius leaders could only urge sore courtes and deeper loyalty to the nation and the faith. "The hand that has smitten can bind us," wrote one editor, and he added, "God is preparing the way for great blessing for us and for much usefulness through us." With the art of flesh proven to be inadequate to win the triumph, God was the only answer.

31 J. H. Winning, The mortal war; or, David and Goliath; the cause and cure of public calamity . . . . (Hilledaleville, 1863); Remarks of Hon. Pierce and Rev. F. B. Palmer, delivered before the General Assembly at Hilledaleville . . . (Hilledaleville, 1863); Sermon. "Palmer, a discourse before the General Assembly of South Carolina . . . ." (Columbia, S. C., 1864).
32 Stiles, "Natural Rectitude; Calvin W. Wiley, Scriptural View of Natural Trials; or, The True Basis to the Independence and Peace of the Confederate States (Greensboro, N. C., 1863).
In Columbia, South Carolina, during the winter of 1864-1865, very frightened people went to hear Calhoun's sermon from Thompson's former pulpit. He offered them eloquent assurances of the death of the Confederate cause, yet he never hinted at surrender. For better, he counselled, would be worse than slavery under the invader. As they left the sanctuary, his words echoed in their ears: "Help us to God! Help is the help of man." 33

33 New, December 23, 1864; New Outlook, 4: 540; From Dixie. Edited by Jos. Williams (Boston, 1940), 424-425, 431.
Chapter VI Slavery

While the North claimed that the war was being fought to eliminate slavery and give freedom to the slaves, the Confederates argued that the "peculiar institution" not only uplifted the "souls of Dixie," but also rested on Biblical justification. The Synod of Texas summarized the attitude of the vast majority of Presbyterians in the Confederacy, when it stated: "We recognize the hand of God in placing this enlightened race in our midst, and heartily accept the duty of leading them to Christ."¹

The war did not change Southern attitudes to servitude, but it did offer a chance to speak out in slavery. After secession, Southerners no longer had to straddle their language cooly when referring to the servants in their midst. Though they never admitted that the war was being fought to perpetuate slavery, they did that slavery arguments trucked their way of life — a life which slavery made possible. Apparently only a few men ceased to consider improvements in the institution. Only a verbal wave as thoughtful as a South Carolina minister who quipped, "I have never looked upon slavery-dying as essentially sinful. I have looked upon the South as altogether guiltless in their treatment of the slave." From the beginning of the war, countless sermons sought to demonstrate the Scriptural basis of slavery, saying not only that God allowed the institution, but also sanctioned it. Referring to the slaves, a "white" minister stated: "We regard them as persons, not as chattels; as moral and responsible beings, not as institute of souls."² For him, and for most of the members of his

¹ "Minutes of the Synod of Texas, 1861-1863," 110-111 (November 1, 1863).
² Diary of Gilbert R. Brackett, June 19, 1861, "'53, Untreat; Mitchell, 'Title Defense of Slavery,' 29."
demonstrated, this summary was sufficient as a statement of religious and ethical conviction.

At Augusta, the first Confederate General Assembly explained its theological interpretation of slavery in the "Address to All the Churches," asserting that the church neither praised nor condemned slavery. Though this statement of policy came from James H. Thornwell, Charles Colcock Jones's address to the Assembly set the pace for Confederate Presbyterian thinking on slavery. Jones inferred that God destined the blacks to be servants and that all slaves needed sympathetic religious guidance by masters, the churchmen accepted his conclusions. One man who did not completely agree with Jones was James A. Lyon, who urged changes in slave codes all over the Confederacy. But Lyon received only brief notice, while Jones attracted much attention. Church papers and judicial bodies urged masters to read the ordain evangelistic words. He said that religious folk wanted to hear. His words gave realistic basis to Thornwell's philosophical ideas. With such a combination, there seemed to be no need to fear failure or error.

In actual practice, the war brought little change in slavery. Ministers beat their slaves and sometimes hired them out when they were not needed at home. At least one minister still beat his servants, and so did many elders. Ministers gave to church, apparently in even larger numbers than in pre-war days. Their marriages, infant baptisms, funerals, and revival services continued as always, but ministers gave them more attention than before. Sometimes, pastors regretted leaving the black portion of their congregations as much as the white.

were Negroes professed faith in their master's Gospel. Then they joined the church they answered the same questions of affiliation as all other converts. On communion Sundays they received communion with the rest of the congregation, but usually at the close of the service. In the plantations, the work of caring for the spiritual welfare of the servants now fell upon the mistress of the house, who carried on the tradition of gathering the slaves together, especially those attached to the house, and sharing devotional songs in the kitchen.

A slave who demonstrated the uplifting effects of religion was still a favorite source of conversation, in addition to being cited as proof of Southern contentions about the possibilities of enlightening the Africans. The death of such a man as "Tale Moore" of Bladen County, North Carolina, "a devout member of the Presbyterian Church and a constant reader of the Bible in the Arabic language," always caused deep mourning. 4

When slaves failed to abide by the rules of the faith, they received the same judgment as all other workers. Such instances as a Negro woman in Mississippi who was charged with "provoking" and speaking "disrespectfully" of the local session, or a man in Fayetteville Presbytery who had "forcibly his wife and carried a second," always warranted a hearing before local sessions, and usually, as in these particular cases, resulted in suspension from congregational rolls. 5

---

4 J. W. Smith Diary, December 21, 1861, January 2, 21, 1862; "Account Book of Wm. V. Ruffner, 1856-1865," Vol. William V. Ruffner Papers, Montréal; Fradette Diary, October 25, 1862; —, February 19, 1862; Alexander, Reminiscences, 1804-1881; Elliott Diary, September 1, 1861.

5 Peckman, Presbyterian Church, Mississippi, II; "Fayetteville Presbytery, 1759-1779," 223-224 (April 12, 1862).
Strict discipline was necessary to encourage respect for moral law and to chasten unruly slaves — thought most churchmen.

A few Negroes were allowed to preach the Gospel — but only to their own people — in the belief that this would make the message both appealing and understandable. Then one of these "exhorters" fell from grace and seemed to be "acting inconsistently with his profession and with the Christian character," presbytery promptly withdrew his permission to preach. The General Assembly never ruled on the question of licensing a gifted "negro man. The same person, Robert Carter of Georgia, was introduced to "forsell Presbytery "as a candidate for the ministry." This body, with no clear precedent to follow, asked the General Assembly "to make a delibration upon the subject of licensing colored exhorters and preachers to labor among our colored population," but the Assembly hesitated and referred the matter back "to the wisdom and discretion of Church sessions." Yet in the Confederate Army, where necessity often replaced tradition, one elderly "negro preached for a Tennessee regiment which had no choir; in public services of common order, produced "two or three revivals." 6

Although the war left little time to answer many of the needs of the times, churchmen did not neglect what they thought were their duties to the Negroes. Only a few presbyteries were able to maintain home missionaries for work among the slaves. The notable success of the Zion Church in Charleston could not withstand the effects of "mischimshelling, and this congregation gradually dwindled. At the same time,

6 "Cherokee Presbytery, 1856-1873," 206 (April 11, 1863); "Forsell Presbytery, 1834-1845," 500 (March 31, 1864); Y.C. 1864, 301-3301 EV, December, 1863."
George Ladson achieved marked success among the colored members of the Columbia, South Carolina, church. The pattern for all evangelistic work among the servants still remained Jones's pioneering effort in Liberty County, Georgia, although his health forced him to refer most of the work to two other missionaries. When he died early in 1863, churchmen — both black and white — paused to mourn the passing of a pioneer.

Jones relied on the efficacy of a catechism to develop the religious maturity of the Negroes and the small booklet he authored for this purpose had long been a standard among Presbyterians. After 1861, however, few people desired a newer compilation. One lady from Atlanta prepared a catechism because she thought communicants who could not read should "be taught as nearly as possible in exact scripture language." From time to time, church papers printed portions of "plantation catechisms" but the search continued for some scriptural aid that would fit the needs of accommodating involuntary servitude with the Christian Gospel.

The great attention to a catechism was consistent with Presbyterian tradition and with the consuming Southern desire to justify slavery — not only to the rest of the world, but also perhaps to the communicants' own consciences. Few church masters ever claimed that slavery was evil or wrong, but there was a ceaseless desire to discuss, consider, formulate, and execute "the duties of Christian masters to their servants in relation to their spiritual interests." Most presbyteries and synods discussed this problem and invariably concluded that masters were not

---

7 22, October 2, 1862; 22, April 9, 30, 1863; 22, April 9, 1863.
8 Charles Colcock Jones, A Catechism for Colored Persons (Charleston, 1834); Emma V. Barnett (Atlanta, Ga.) to Rev. A. A. Porter, July 15, 1861, Porter Letters.
fulfilling all their duties. Frequently owners were reminded that "the religious culture of our slave population develops properly, upon the heads... of families." Apparently many ministers failed to give the black members of their congregations sufficient attention, for presbyteries often asked a pastor "to consider the servants of his congregation as a part of his "pastoral charge" or requested sessions "to make immediate arrangements not only to have regular preaching, but also faithful and systematic catechetical religious instruction" for the slaves.

Long years of debate made Southerners eager and proficient in explaining their attitudes toward slavery. Although the arguments of defense became stereotyped long before 1861, ministers and elders continued their verbal counterattacks against all who would destroy the foundations of their society. In the apologias, Presbyterians were in harmony with most of the other religious groups in the South, in maintaining the divine ordination of slavery and emphasized the dictum, "servant, obey your master." But the Presbyterian clergy kept up a barrage of words to explain the "present struggle and the place of the "peculiar institution" in this battle.

A number of spokesmen charged that the war itself was a divine judgement of the sin of abolition. Those men who sought to abolish slavery were said to be violating God's plan for the black race. "Fanaticism and infidel abolitionism have produced it and are continuing it," wrote a North Carolina pastor, and Thomas Smyth of Charleston.

---

8. "Georgia Presbytery, 1742-1864," 483 (April 12, 1864); "West Hanover Presbytery, 1851-1867," 44 (August 7, 1862); "Arkansas Presbytery, 1858-1862," 64 (April 11, 1862); "Memphis Presbytery, 1857-1862," 343-347 (April 4, 1862).
agreed that the war was a "judgment upon the North for its persistent, unreformed, abolition fanaticism."10 If this were true, then the Confederacy was still on the side of the Lord, and God's people were assured of His aid and counsel.

Though the war was possibly God's chastisement, some churchmen thought the formation of the Confederacy was a great opportunity to modify the "peculiar institution" along more Christian lines. There would be no hindrance from a Republican Congress, the Northern spirit, or Puritan philosophers. Throughout the war, there was a subtle, yet strong internal jockeying by advocates of reform. For many, no changes were required, but others, like Calvin W. Miley, devout churchman and superintendent of schools in North Carolina, and Lyon demanded changes. Strong conservatives, such as Thomas Smyth and Robert L. Dabney, saw only danger in breaking with tradition.

The most scathing indictment expressed by a Southern Presbyterian against slavery came from Eli Washington Caruthers, veteran pastor of Alamance Church, near Greensboro, North Carolina. Early in the summer of 1861, he wrote a long treatise on slavery, in light of Biblical teachings. His work, "America Slavery and the Immediate Duty of Southern Slave Holders," written "at the request of some valued friends who had expressed a wish to have my views of the slavery question in a more permanent form," left no argument untouched. Caruthers attacked the institution from every angle, bitterly condemning it on religious, moral, philosophical, and legal grounds. Realizing the inflammatory nature of the work, he showed it to a few trusted confidants, but soon church

papers announced his resignation from the Alliance 'restored' "on account of impaired health." Later, Caruthers considered his long manuscript and decided "there are some hard things in it, and if there were not it could do no good; for an evil of such an extent, enormity, and long standing cannot be demolished or removed by a little smooth talk. The whole truth must be told."[11]

Few people "read of Caruthers’ work, so it had little effect on Southern thinking, but Northern attacks produced strong reactions in the South. Each of the General Assemblies in the Union handed down strong indictments of the Confederacy and slavery in 1861. The United Presbyterian Church resolved that "so long as slavery lives, no permanent peace can be enjoyed" and the "New School claimed the South fought to defend "African Slavery." These statements, plus a "strong anti-slavery paper" from the Old School, awakened vigorous denunciation among Presbyterians in Dixie. Argument over slave rights was one thing, but to attack slavery or religious grounds aroused the ire of laymen and ministers, who soon agreed "the mystery of iniquity is at work in the Northern Churches."[12]

Yankee threats around the interest of Thomas Mann and the frail pastor produced a long series of articles in defense of slavery, in addition to a lengthy article in the Southern Presbyterian Review on "The War of the South "Indicted." After long Biblical study, he concluded that "false views of slavery" — not slavery itself — caused the war.

---


[12] Winkerson, History During the Rebellion, 466-470; 474; 51, June 17, July 24, 1862.
Early in the series, Fryth declared that slavery was not a sin and the
slaveholder might "have a conscience void of offense towards God, and
the guilt of so revolting sin rests upon the conscience of those who by
vain philosophy and fanatical anxiety change God foolishly." Packing
his evidence with carefully selected scriptural quotations, Fryth tried
to demolish for all time the theological attacks on involuntary servitude.
In his opinion, a "holy, humble, happy slave" was the "nearest approach
to a living embodiment of that holiness which with contentment in
great pain," and one of the causes for which the South was fighting —
in addition to her very way of life — was the right to possess "uncon-
taminated servants."  

Fryth was not alone. In the United Synod, the Synod of Virginia
stated its basic beliefs on most questions relating to the war in a
declaration entitled The Position, Relations and Prospects of the United
Synod: In Reference to the Moral Issues Involved in the Present War . . .

This document admitted that the abolition controversy was one of the
primary causes for the organization of the "United Synod in 1760" and argued
that slave holding was not a proper topic for discussion within the
church. The politicians, not the theologians should handle the question,
for men of God should understand that He had sent the Negroes to America.

Both W. W. Randolph, the outspoken Winchester minister, and John
Randolph Tucker, Attorney General of Virginia and influential layman in
United Synod, liked this declaration, although they probably would have
preferred a stronger condemnation of slavery instead of the inferred

---

12 "ibid., October 11–December 29, 1962," Thomas Fryth, "War of the South,"
Justification. Paul always defended the Christian nature of slavery and maintained his belief against all comers — even Yankee generals. Tucker considered slavery "a social necessity" and in 1863, he argued that the whites were "incapable of amalgamation with the white race, by natural law, fixed and unalterable: incapable of political equality ... by original inferiority, and the inhumane of centuries; incapable of freedom." Meanwhile, the sent of Tennessee in the United States, considered a resolution to refuse license or ordination to any man holding "antiquated, natural, or abolition doctrines." It delayed action on this topic, however, and at the same time rejected a claim "affirming the right of interweaving of slavery in the Southern States.

A few disapproved of some of the regulations and practices relating to slavery in the South. One observer noted that many were afraid of trying the system out to "agree to their need of good privileges and the character of our overseers ... and then the futility and unfaithfulness of thousands of good men who work at these things." While no friend of abolition or emancipation, he hoped for some change in slave codes which allowed such evils. The first positive step in bringing about such changes came from the pen of Samuel F. Adams, president of Iglesiaso University. In the summer of 1863, he wrote to many newspapers of his state urging legislative action, particularly to end the restrictions regarding slave literacy. "The very prohibition," he wrote, "leads the ignorant to a suspicion that the inspired word is against us, and that there is something there which we would fair conceal from them.

14 The Beagle, relating an account of the "United States," in reference to the moral issues involved in the present war ..., (Richmond, 1863); 22, September 11, October 7, 23, 1863; John Randolph Tucker, The Bible or Atheism ..., (Richmond, 1863).
In addition, he wondered if these restrictions might be a cause of God's withholding... his smiles from the righteous struggle we are waging with our cruel foes."

Tam-she's suggestions attracted surprisingly strong affirmation through the church. The Southern Presbyterian, most fearful of the church papers, unequivocally agreed with him and added that laws against Negro literacy were "useless" and "hurtful." Also, the Presbytery of Georgia passed a series of strongly-worded resolutions endowing his suggestions and requested a complete revision of all slave codes so that "every statute inconsistent with our character as a Christian nation, with the teachings of Christ's Holy Word, and with the high and solemn obligations of God's special providence are now eagerly imposed upon us, shall be henceforth and forever annulled." 15

Opportunity for reform vanished in the storm of protest following the Emancipation Proclamation. Most Southerners interpreted Lincoln's pronouncement as the epitome of abolition—the supreme assault on the agrarian South. Immediately, church papers joined the angry reaction of the South to the Proclamation. One paper called the inaugural "Perjury," "Hypocrisy," "Villainy," and attached the "vulgar tyrant of the White House." Another thought it was "nothing less than an appeal to the slave population of the South to rise in insurrection," while still a third paper considered the Proclamation "atrocious... in one respect... ridiculous in another." 16

15 Rev. G. A. Stillman, "Gainesville, Ala., to Rev. A. K. Foster, May 2, 1862; 21; Foster Letters; The Prentissman (Pawpaw, Ok.), December 1, 1862; 38; "Minutes of the Presbytery of Georgia, 1862-1863," 4-5; "Minutes of the Presbytery of Georgia, 1862-1863," 4-5; November 3, 1863.

16 "XCP, January 17, 1863; 21; October 2, December 11, 1862; 38; December 4, 1863."
Southern churchmen miscalculated the effects of the Proclamation on world opinion and failed to realize that they were now on the defensive in regard to slavery. From this time on, they had to conduct a war marked by the defense of slavery.

But the Proclamation did provoke some action among clergymen. In the area of Richmond, a number of ministers from various Protestant groups composed a long Address to Christians Throughout the World, in an attempt to influence world opinion about the Confederacy, the war and the "peculiar institution." By the time this statement came off the press, almost one hundred clergymen had signed it, including twenty-nine from the General Assembly, twelve from the United Synod, and three A. E. F. pastors.

The Address called the war an attempt by the North to re-establish the Union "by violence." But Southerners considered secession final, for they claimed a political and an ecclesiastical line been drawn between the two sections. Central to this there was a lengthy explanation of traditional Southern slavery. The war, charged the Address, had released the Emancipation Proclamation because it needed the aid of the Negroes, since only the areas opposing the North were affected. Abolition was said to be at the bottom of this latest attempt to wreck the faith. It caused the war, now it was trying to destroy religious men who were striving to rule slaves along Judeo-tural lines.

Treaty-makers condemned the Address as an answer to heathen attacks — a telling explanation of the South's great effort to follow the biblical pattern. They were pleased when it appeared later in the Confederate-sponsored paper in London, The Index, and looked forward to
English endorsement of their effort.  

The continuing agitation over slavery and its practice reached a climax in 1863. More church leaders expressed a desire for re-evaluation of the slave codes. A Virginia presbytery appointed a committee to study the laws regarding slave marriages and to propose any needed ecclesiastical action on the subject. At the same time the Central Presbyterian guardedly endorsed legal recognition of slave marriages. But all these activities were only preliminaries to the General Assembly in May at Columbia, South Carolina. Since the 1862 assembly had been a small gathering and had not touched the matter of slavery, the report on slavery requested by the Augusta Assembly would be presented at Columbia. After the death of Lyon, the responsibility of this report reverted to Lyon.

In the fourth day of the assembly, Lyon delivered his report—a severe indictment of the institution as dear to Confederates. Prefacing his remarks with his belief that God committed "the entire interests, physical, moral, intellectual, and religious, of the black race" to the free, Lyon proceeded to explain the changes he deemed vital. For more than an hour, he read a carefully worded plea for reform and modification. The African slave trade he condemned as "a sin against the laws of God." In the plantation, there were "avilis and abuses" which must be corrected, he argued, for "there is no law of God... that will

---


18 "West Hanover Presbytery, 1861-1867," 58 (April 17, 1863); 22, April 23, 1863.
justify slavery, where the benefits and blessings growing out of the relation are not reciprocal." As part of these changes, he asked that masters and servants share the same religious service, live near each other and eliminate absenteeism, work together in order to raise the educational level of the Negroes. With laws to prohibit teaching slaves to read and write, and without laws to protect marriages among these people, Lyon thought the Confederate States risked grave consequences. The lack of protection for Negro lives and property, plus the absence of legal recognition of slave testimony in court, was "an outrage against both the laws of God and the instincts of humanity." As he closed, the Mississippian barged his fellow commissioners to realize that the time was ripe for change regarding slavery, "when the eyes of the whole civilized world are turned upon it, and all ears are open to hear any utterance that may be made to it."19

As soon as he finished, others took up the debate. Some were skeptical of discussing such a touchy topic in a church court. Most of the opposition came from Laymon, particularly from South Carolina. Lyon, J. Leitch Wilm proposed that a special committee consider the matter. The next day Lyon met with the committee and boldly challenged them to state their arguments against his suggestions. When they stalled, he reminded them that men of the cloth must look to God for direction—not to Caesar or the ballot box. Eventually, the group proposed that a report be made at the 1864 Assembly on the subject and thus the issue

subsided for another year. 20 By this time, no Confederate Presbyterian could evade the slavery question. When cases had slipped through the blockade to purchase religious reading materials for the army in Britain, he faced anti-slavery challenges to explain the war of the South. When the United Synod gathered for its annual deliberations, this group followed the pattern of the General Assembly and appointed a committee to report in 1764 on the “duties and relations existing between the masters and slaves and the States and the slaves.” In September, when the Associate Reformed Synod heard reports from the presbyteries, it listened to “a resolution of grave importance” from Virginia which helped for more attention to the master’s duties, laws to protect slave marriages, and elimination of the restrictions on reading and writing. 21

Still the more soothing attack remained. Calvin S. Wiley, the North Carolina school superintendent, spoke to Confederate religious leaders and to his fellow presbyterians in particular, in his book, "Trinitarian Views of National Trials." The war, he argued, had a divine origin; recent defeats of Confederate arms resulted from God’s displeasure with slavery’s evils. Further delay was dangerous, for God would not long be patient. If those who called for an end to the hostilities before making any reforms, he inquired: “Will God trust us? . . . Will God regard us as sincere?”

These prophetic words were part of a public discussion which brought slavery under the questioning gaze of some observers for the

20 Haddel Diary, November 23, 1763, May 11, 1763; 21, May 21, 1763; ibid., 1763, 126-127.

first time in decades. Southern minds had been closed on the subject for so long that it was hard to consider change. There were some improvements in the state codes of Georgia and Alabama, and Lyon and Wiley demonstrated that the topic could be brought before the public. After the Assembly, Lyon's address appeared in the Southern Presbyterian Review, accompanied by three articles on the same subject. 28

Negroes received more attention from both preachers and ministers. In spite of difficulties imposed by the war, preaching to the slaves continued. Many areas reported significant interest among the blacks for the Gospel. In Florida, ministers manifested a "lively interest" in the servants which had not been noted previously. The Negroes also increased their contributions to the work of Zion. The Virginia presbytery concluded that the year produced a greater religious awakening among the Negroes than among the whites. Perhaps the Farewell Presbytery of Georgia revealed the cause of the increased interest in the Negroes:

"Our church too is being more and more pervaded with a sense of her solemn obligations to the colored population. There is a growing conviction among us that the pressing need of this people is the Gospel. . . . God has given us a separate national existence, to the intent that we may conserve and sanctify an institution of His own appointment." 29

Robert L. Finney could not remain silent while the institution was...


under fire. Although he once suggested surgical experimentation as a means of securing foreign aid, he locked with a jaundiced eye on any attack on slavery. He had already begun work on a lengthy defense of the "peculiar institution" as practiced in Virginia, in which he contended: "Domestic servitude, as we define and intend it, is but civil government in one of its forms. All government is restraint; and this is but the form of restraint." While not forgetting the gegenpart obligations to export the system, Dabney never thought of the Negro as capable of equality. If anything were "in fashion" at this point that he was unable to get his treatment published, it was to "tame" the war. He kept tabs on the rising of possible equality for the Negro even affected "colored opinion as of the Negroes of Stonewall Jackson."

While the theoreticians argued, the assembly found. The House and Senate were engaged in the better cattle and tobacco fields, churchmen had less time to call of slavery. But in 1862, the General Assembly once more resumed discussion in the subject. Lyon proclaimed his new position strongly, but such conservatives as Dabney were able to restrain any faction. By this time, Lyon had become convinced that slavery was being "wholly moral," and need not for political and moral purposes.

If wrong in its view of entering total abolition right away, the Assembly approved the appointment of yet another committee, with Dabney as chairman, for recommendations for change could be expected.24


Yet the people wanted to do all they could to aid in winning the war and being worthy of God's favor. But there were differing opinions on how these goals might be achieved. Some people favored the reforms, while others claimed these were necessary to avoid defeat. Charges and counter-charges flew back and forth — in pulpit, press, and personal letters. Any extreme opposition to another's opinion of slavery might result in personal insults, as the North Carolina pastor learned when his predecessor purchased him severely.

The genuine Evangelical revival deeply interested in the spiritual welfare of the Negro. There was no way to know when plans for slavery — if such a plan — but it was at least possible to help the servants to the message of salvation. Religious activity increased under the leadership of the middle and lower classes. Letters were compiled as sermons before and after Christmas — including the Third of September — and thousands were sent to the slaves and freedmen from the North. In "North,' churches on the eve of reaching colored pennants wrote.

While the — of the old planter were not sure they knew the best method to extend the Gospel to the slaves, the Church of Christ's Revolutionary preachers said: "Our Revolutionary actions will be traced accurately in every other revolution of the Confederacy — that the war has not only taught the colored man to be his best earthly leader, but dire must be lead him to the foreman of the Great Unseen Leader." 26

By the close of 1863, the Confederacy was tattering, insolvency was widespread. There were frequent references to slavery at this time and

26 "The Great Revivals of Religion, 1850-1874," 475 (March 1, 1864); "The Great Revival of Religion, 1850-1874," 475 (September 1, 1864); "The Great Revival of Religion, 1850-1874," 475 (October 1, 1864); "The Great Revival of Religion, 1850-1874," 475 (October 1, 1864).
how it was evolved in the example — but not the reformers have
more confusing than ever. Even Sen Palmer was said to believe that
slavery was doomed and was supposedly glad of it. Some ministers con-
tinued their time-lapse efforts to bring the black men and women to God,
some particularly still sought conversions and were efficient methods of
making the Gospel understandable. True and Wiley were not as patient
and demanded direct action. Still we as the governor of the state, call-
ing for laws to implement reforms. Both asserted that time was short —
that patience might already be at an end — and small onclick was still
at stake.

Neither men had any immediate success, but at least in "declared
the proposed improvements were placed for consideration in the fall of
1865 when the Legislature was scheduled to reconvene. As for every
aspect of Confederate policy, confidence in "this mercy" seemed to insure
future success in "improving slavery."

27 Shadrach, "Three Faces of Dixie," 72-105; Hubbell, "James L. Lyon," 42-
14; Bell, E. Wiley, "The Movement to "Improve the Institution of Slavery
During the Confederacy," Tuskegee University Quarterly, x(l/4), 1949;
Chapter XIII  Indian and Foreign Missions

The Church in the Confederacy began with a strong emphasis on foreign missions. Even before the Atlanta Convention, J. Leighton Wilson opened his work to guide the ambassadors of the Gospel in their labors among the heathens. From the time he returned to South Carolina, this veteran of the mission field worked to extend the faith to new lands and rather in new countries to the light. "And it became thus shortened of funds and laborers forced churchmen to restrain scores of enlarging the mission area -- instead they had to bend all their efforts to keep the missionaries supplied with money and material and hope."

For the General Assembly, foreign missions meant the Indian Territory and the inner mission and two missionaries commissioned by Wilson's Executive Committee of Foreign Missions to preach there. These four men and the teachers who assisted them, constituted all of the missionaries within the new denomination -- except a few brethren who had gone to the Orient before the war, but from whom we heard no more. 1

The average church rather knew very little about this work. The principal sources of information concerning the missions to the red men were the few letters from the missionaries, which Wilson passed on to the church papers.

As soon as the first General Assembly concluded, Wilson tried to rush all the missionaries, solicitation for contributions filled his correspondence as the "Mission Room" in Columbia became a funnel through which money went and money was sent west. The fall of New Orleans temporarily broke rural mail communications beyond the

1 For a list of missiaries, see Appendix B.
Mississippi. But Wilson did not despair and by the end of the 19th Assembly, he announced that mail was reaching the tribes again and asked fellow Presbyterians to remember the material needs of the missionaries, although they could meet their financial demands until autumn, winter in that isolated sector would possibly bring famine.

Wilson also called upon young men and women to join the mission service. In an article, "Personal Engagement in the Work of Foreign Missions," he discussed the challenges of this work and continued the call to extend the Kingdom had never been so strong, or so urgent. The Confederacy had a challenge from God to reach out and draw in the heathen.²

The church enthusiastically supported Wilson's campaign to extend the bounds of Zion. When he issued a call for two missionaries and two additional "female missionary teachers," in September, 1862, church papers and denominational leaders immediately approved. Recent news of the resumption of travel to the Trans-Mississippi gave added encouragement to the hope of fulfilling the mission varied. Yet, despite the enthusiasm of the editors and pastors, contributions for foreign missions lagged far behind Wilson's expectations.³ After the generous donations of 1861, the receipts for 1862 were discouraging. By the end of the year, monthly receipts were decreased, and in view of the inflation of the times, far below the average for prewar years.

³ WW, August 16, September 21, 1862; WW, August 21, 1863; WW, October 22, 1862; WW, September 21, 1862; North Carolina Synod, 1862.
In the Confederate East, little was known of events east of Arkansas. Commissioners to the 1863 General Assembly from both Creek Nation and Indian Presbyteries had been unable to reach Montgomery, due to the menacing advance of Union forces. In the tribes, most of the men had already departed for the front -- which was often an ill-defined zone in the hills and prairies of the Indian country. Among the congregations, women and children continued their regular church attendance and even a few new members were reported.

In some portions of the mission field, suffering was already a reality. Near the Kansas border, in the Seminole Nation, John Lilley bravely tried to carry on his work and care for his nearly blind wife at the same time. There was little communication beyond the immediate vicinity. Reported advances of "five columns" often caused chaos and excitement around his station, but he remained with his adopted people. Meanwhile, in the Creek area, no one was safe. Evading hands menaced the countrywide and robbed a native "preacher," forcing R. W. Lumphridge to flee to the Cherokee Nation.

There was comparative tranquility around the other mission stations. To determine the situation in his region, tireless old Cyrus Kingsbury made a long circuit throughout the Choctaw area and found the people loyal to the Confederacy. He learned that most missionaries in the Choctaw Nation were still able to continue their normal routine, although crowds were much smaller at preaching services and at the few schools which remained open. But the threat of defeat hung over the country like a pall. By the end of summer, there were no crops to harvest in some sections. When one minister surveyed the scene, he thought it "quite gloomy" -- not only for grain and cotton, but also for souls.
Some areas did not suffer much and a few ministers related that their neighborhoods were "quiet and orderly."⁴

Autumn meetings of both the Choctaw Mission and Indian Presbytery were thinly attended and little could be done beyond a mutual sharing of news and courage. Increasing scarcities and inflation made estimates of financial needs useless. But the region needed laborers more than money, particularly women to save the schools that were near dissolution. Since more they wrote to Wilson, requesting reinforcements. In order to all-
leviate possible fears, one missionary promised to send new workers in Mississippi and escort them back to the mission field.⁵

Three missionaries and a trio of Indian elders travelled to the meeting of Arkansas Synod soon after Presbytery adjourned in the autumn of 1862. For most of the group, it was their first opportunity to venture beyond the borders of the Indian lands since 1860. They learned some of the recent events concerning the war, but even in Arkansas, news often lagged far behind events and rumors were more prevalent than facts. These travellers learned that Creek Nation Presbytery had failed to meet and that the war caused widespread suffering and shortages. Yet when they returned to the Indian villages, they were pleased with the Synod's evaluation of their services: "The confidence of our churches and people in the... missionaries who are laboring among the red men... is stronger than ever. These brethren have passed through the fires of persecution and like the... are... have been purified by them."⁶

⁴ [RE, August 16, 30, October 17, 1862; MRE, August 23, 1862.]
⁵ "Choctaw Mission, 1862-1877," 5 (October 3, 1862); "Indian Presbytery, 1862-1875," 33-34 (October 16-17, 1862); CC, November 13, 1862.
⁶ "Arkansas Synod, 1862-1878," 151-162 (October 25-35, 1862); CC, December 11, 1862.
Winter snows brought severe hardships to the Indians. Scarcity of food and clothing helped to cause dissension among the Cherokees. As rival factions divided the Nation, those loyal to the Confederacy rallied behind the great warrior, Stand Watie, but could not halt a Union advance into the Cherokee lands. This advance drove many refugees from the area, including refugee Laughridge who took his family to the comparative safety of Texas. With the Cherokee Mission all but closed, a native licentiate joined the government of the Cherokee Nation and Confederate soldiers used the empty school buildings for hospitals. 7

But the situation was not completely hopeless. Most of the men working among the Choctaws still were able to continue their preaching. 8

Missionary wives and Indian women managed to continue six schools, despite declining attendance. These women were delighted with the arrival of Miss Augusta Bradford, who answered Wilson's call for missionary workers and left her home in Talladega, Alabama, to teach in a Choctaw school — the first new missionary sent out by the new church. 8

Choctaw women and children, plus a few old men, still appeared for church services. Here and there, a few new members professed their faith in the basket brought by the white man. At least three regular prayer meetings continued, and the Indians contributed liberally for benevolences — sometimes even to extend foreign missions. One congregation gave three hundred dollars to send religious materials to the army.

The Chickasaw Mission maintained its former routine of service


8 SP, January 29, 1933.
for a time and then almost dissolved under the pressure of war. When food and clothing became extremely scarce, the two missionaries to the Chickasaws — Hamilton Palestine and Allen Wright — both did all they could to alleviate the needs of the natives. When an Indian regiment took the field, Wright served as their chaplain for some time while Palestine remained behind to offer spiritual sustenance to the women and children caught up in the midst of a conflict they could neither understand nor prevent.

Spring brought warmer weather and the enjoyable meeting of presbytery, but there was little cheering news to exchange. Smallpox had broken out during the winter and threatened to sweep through the tribes, preventing some ministers from leaving their posts. In view of the spread of the disease and the dangers of travel beyond the Mississippi, Indian Presbytery voted not to send commissioners to the 1863 General Assembly at Columbia. 9

At the Assembly in Columbia, the subject of foreign missions occupied an important position in the discussions. Due to the advance of Northern armies, the Domestic Missions committee had fled Memphis. In order to stabilize the situation and offer some coordination for the remainder of the war, the assembly voted to combine the committees of Domestic and Foreign Missions temporarily. Wilson became head of this joint activity. With home missions work concentrated in the army, he was able to continue his personal efforts in promoting evangelism among the heathen peoples.

When Wilson reported the year's work, he was able to present a comparatively cheering summary. Finances were in amazingly sound condition, considering that donations had hardly kept up with the decreasing value of the dollar and sagged far below pre-war totals. Because of the difficulties of our unification with the Indian Nations and the comparative self-sufficiency of some of the missionaries, he had not spent as much as expected, although he had forwarded some cash through "a Christian friend in Arkansas."

The Executive Secretary of Foreign Missions was pleased to describe the commissioning of Miss Bradford and he added that a number of other women would have followed her, had not army action virtually halted travel across the Mississippi. Their advances seriously reduced Wilson's information about the missions. In recent months, he received letters from only six of the missionaries. As far as he could tell, all fourteen men were still preaching, although some of them had moved from their regular stations. Because of shortages of clothing, he forwarded some wool and cotton cards, but had no idea whether these reached their destination.

Wilson also mentioned the representatives of the South in the lands beyond the Atlantic and Pacific. Already a number of young men had been in correspondence with him about future service beyond the seas and he believed a number of Southern Presbyterians would "be ready to go as heralds of salvation to remote parts of the earth, as the door is open."10

10 un. 1863, 144-162, 164-176; Augusta Weekly Chronicle and Sentinel, May 10, 1863.
This led him to meet the Southerners who were already overseas, whom he hoped would profess their allegiance for the Presbyterian Church of the Confederacy. During the first year of his service as Executive Secretary, he forwarded funds to John A. Dunforth, at Ningpo, China; E. C. Yaphurn at Paramaribo, Surinam; and Daniel Wallivary at Tachiburi, Thailand. All were overzealous religious radicals and Dunforth and Wallivary were native Southerners, as was Mr. Yaphurn. Wallivary eventually learned the funds reached all three men, after circuitous routes through Venice and the West Indies, but he also learned that Yaphurn and another Southern missionary in whom he was interested, Mr. C. Culbertson at Paramaribo, were "sincere in their sympathies." Dunforth and Mr. Yaphurn stated their preference for the Confederacy, but gave no indication that they planned to attach themselves to the Southern mission committee.

Wallivary, a North Carolina man who went to his post near Paramaribo in 1861, was under the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA, but in one of his early letters to Wallivary, he expressed "sentimental sympathy with the Southern cause and the Southern Church." In his isolated area, without reliable information concerning the war in America, Wallivary hesitated to leave the Old School Board which commissioned him in the first place. He assured Wallivary of his sentimental sympathies, but made it clear that he felt it unwise to risk the fate of his mission by a public profession of sympathy for the Confederacy and his Presbyterian Church.11

11 William A. Wofford, Yaphurn of Paramaribo and His Wife and Northern (Philadelphia, 1928), 202; Wofford, Yaphurn: 209-16; Wallivary to Wofford, November 12, 1863; "Yearbook Presbyterian Church," 1862-63, (October 5, 1863); "Yearbook Presbyterian Church," 1863, 150-151 (October 6, 1863); 13, July 13, 1863.
While the reports from the front were irregular and disappointing, the letters from the men in the Indian Territory were little better. Many of their communications never arrived at Columbia and those which did arrive usually indicated a radical decline. After the fall of Vicksburg, Wilson forwarded his letters for the missionaries to John M. Hadley, now a refugee in the Gulf South, who gave them to someone who would carry them into the Indian Territory.

In the west, neither the Indians nor their missionary leaders showed any signs of weakening in their devotion to the Confederate cause. When a native leader wrote Indian Presbytery requesting that they send "honest, united prayers" that the Choctaws might be saved from the army on their borders, Presbytery quickly sent an hour in such prayers. The same body resolved to assist the men of the tribe in the army. These ministers and others stated that they considered it their duty "to visit the camp, to strengthen the hands of our brethren, and to comfort the sick and afflicted, and to preach the Gospel wherever an opportunity shall offer."

Carrying out the latter became progressively more difficult. Ministers hesitated to leave their families to travel to either presbytery or synod meetings, because of the danger of renegade attacks. Also, if they were able to reach their destination, there was no assurance that a quorum would be present— as was the case with the Arkansas synod in the fall of 1863, when Federal occupation of Little Rock prevented one meeting and a second gathering waited two days for a quorum to

12 Hadley Diary, August 23, 1863; "Indian Presbytery, 1862-1875," 47-48 (September 22-26, 1863).
arrive. Thus, the men and women of the mission stations travelled less, knew little of the outside world, and had to rely more on their own efforts. Prayer and faith were their only allies.

Despite all of the discouraging aspects of their situation, pastors of Indian congregations saw some indications of growth within their small and lonely flocks. Although Creek Nation Presbyterians apparently did not meet after 1861, Indian Presbyterians did add a few members. In the report to the 1863 General Assembly, this presbytery noted nineteen new communicants, twenty-nine baptisms, and more than eleven hundred dollars in contributions during the past year. With the diminutive numbers from Creek Nation aided to those of Indian Presbytery, Presbyterian membership in the Nations was almost eleven-hundred — but this figure failed to take into account those members who "refused." 13

At Pine Ridge in the Cheyenne Nation, Cyrus Kingsbury probably lived more pleasantly than the other missionaries. With the produce from his small farm and a few head of livestock, he avoided hunger and was able to aid some of the Indians in his neighborhood. "Generally speaking, we are not so handsomely pressed as our friends at a distance may suppose," wrote this rural minister — now nearing three score years and ten. Despite her feeble condition, Mrs. Kingsbury continued to assist with the school and was able to make "homespun cloth in sufficient quantity to supply her husband's needs. The old pastor, now a patriarch in the Nation, still maintained most of his former routine, riding on horseback over a vast territory to preach the Gospel and succor the weak.

13 "Arkansas Journal, 1852-1877," 143-167 (October 28-29, 1863); ibid, 1863, 165-166.
Kingsbury thought most of his ministerial colleagues, except perhaps Lilley in the Seminole Nation and the two men who had worked in the Cherokee tribe, were still able to continue their work. He confessed that the most depressing aspect of his situation was the absence of news of the rest of the South. Only random issues of the Southern Presbyterian reached him, while the Christian Observer and the North Carolina Presbyterian occasionally filtered across the Mississippi. 14

Kingsbury's letters briefly evaluated the hardships faced by the Cherokee and Seminole missionaries. Cherokee women and children headed southward as Union cavalry threatened their villages. Soon, many of these refugees appeared in Kingsbury's own congregation, searching for safety in the lands bordering the Red River. Reports mentioned at least six hundred homeless Indians fleeing before the Federals, without food, shelter or hope. Cherokee congregations almost completely disappeared and no regular preaching seems to have been maintained after late 1863. For seemingly endless months these people wandered -- huddling here and there in small groups, hoping to find some strength in their small numbers. Often the small sanctuaries of Presbyterian churches offered them their only opportunity to hear a message of reassurance or the comfort of a place to sleep, without the biting north wind at their backs or the cutting snow swirling in their faces.

In the "North," beyond the area of regular communication with the other missionaries, Lilley still sustained his labors among the Seminoles. Almost without exception Seminole Presbyterians demonstrated their loyalty.

to the Confederacy. Finally, near the end of 1863, Federal scouts began to harass his efforts. On one visit to his residence, these scouts killed his son-in-law in the front yard, and then carried the missionary and his family away into the unknown area behind Federal lines. 15

Throughout this period, most of the lands of the Choctaws and the Chickasaws remained comparatively quiet. Preaching continued at some thirty stations. While the chaos of war swirled around him, Cyrus Clytington continued his translations of scripture into the Choctaw language and now in his forced solitude, concentrated his energies on this work. He twice revised the Choctaw grammar which had become a standard work among the tribe and also improved his translations of Genesis, Exodus, and First and Second Chronicles. Ten years of exposure to the torturous work on the plains had taken a toll of his eyesight and memory, and his translations were now more tedious and difficult.

When five ministers and five elders gathered for the Indian presbyterian meeting at Winship's church in April, 1864, they noted the ravages of war on their ranks. Creek Nation Presbytery had been "dispersed by the event of the war," and all three ministers of that presbytery uprooted by the holocaust. Even among the Choctaws, few schools remained in operation. Southern troops often used them for hospitals or barracks, and fighting men from the North found similar purposes for the buildings. Everywhere the pastors looked, they saw the effects of three years of uncertainty and the threat of military action. Since their congregations were in such a state of flight and fear, the Presbytery did not even

attempt to compile a statistical report of the year's work.\textsuperscript{16}

War and its deterioration gradually ate away much of the work that the missionaries had done over the years. The helpless red man could not help wondering about the depth of the white man's gospel when he saw men from North and South fight in unchristian manner, but the Indians deeply revered the missionaries who did not desert them in the midst of strife. When one of the aged veterans of the mission fields passed from the scene, the nations mourned. Mrs. Cyrus Kingsbury died in April 1964, after forty-one years service among the Choctaws, and her husband hid his sadness in seclusion. He was not one of a quartet of ministers who made up the autumn Indian Presbytery meeting. Since there was no meeting of synod that season and little mail had come from the Confederacy for six weeks, the lonely little band of missionaries could only hope that they had not been forgotten.\textsuperscript{17}

All over the Confederacy, Presbyterians frequently indicated that they had not forgotten the missionaries. Special collections, letters to newspapers, and prayer meetings, all helped to keep the subject of foreign missions alive. There was almost always a motion at each presbytery meeting of the need for more emphasis on evangelism to the heathen peoples of the earth. These appeals achieved limited results, however, for contributions to foreign missions gradually decreased and were far behind donations to army missions.

\textsuperscript{16} "Central Texas Presbytery, 1854-1864," 176 (April 1, 1864); "Indian Presbytery, 1864-1865," 45-47 (March 21-April 1, 1864); "Choctaw Mission, 1863-1864," 77 (April 1, 1864).

\textsuperscript{17} "Foreman, "The Saints," \textit{The} \textit{Neshoba} (1864-1865), 47-49 (July 14, 1864); "Indian Presbytery, 1864-1865," 67 (September 10, 1864); "Arkansas Synod, 1863-1865," 125 (October 1, 1864).
Wilson continued his insistence on missions in the Assembly. In 1764, at Charlotte, the Assembly considered a method to ensure increased contributions for all the activities of the church. No new plans were announced, but the Foreign Missions Committee received more than thirty thousand dollars in hand. The Committee invested this sum in Confederate bonds and hopefully awaited the coming of peace and sufficient increase to finance a greatly expanded missions program.

In his report to the Assembly, Wilson indicated that he had not heard from "any" in recent months, but the committee had two thousand dollars in bonds in England—enough to meet the expenses of the missionary to Thailand for two years—and proposed to give it to him in the hope that he would join the Presbyterian Church of the Confederacy. Wilson had very limited information about the Indian slave societies, for news was scarce and mail had become completely unimportant. But Wilson hoped his brother-in-law to support the men on Indian missions and would recall the traditional Christian emphasis on missions. 13

At the 1764 General Assembly, as the commissioners discussed possible solidiary union with the United Irish, they reaffirmed that the Irish had two men in foreign missionary service. One of these men, Samuel A. H. Smith, was preaching to the Indians in Tennessee. Smith, a native of East Tennessee, had very little contact with the Africans of the United Irish, but a few scattered letters from him indicated he remained loyal. 13

---

13 u.s., 1764, 523-526; 22, May 26, 1764.
19 22, March 31, 1764.
The more inspiring of the two men was Michael P. Kalodoktarios, the native Greek who had come to the United States for medical training after serving in the Greek Revolution. American missionaries led him to Presbyterianism and while studying in America, he had become attracted to the South. After the United Synod formed, he came under the sponsorship of this body and made a remarkable missionary record in Athens. There, he not only used his medical training to advantage, but established a newspaper to propagate Protestantism among the GreekëEthniki Ëthnikis Ekklisias.

After great initial difficulty, Kalodoktarios was able to maintain his paper and strengthen his position. As the fighting continued in America, he returned to Athens without expectation of his return to the United States, but on a visit to the United States in 1869, was unable to reach the South. The Synod could not send as much money to Kalodoktarios as it hoped. Some money reached him through the efforts of an unknown layman, but the arrangement was always risky. Still, he was not forgotten. A United Synod meeting came not to renew and organize without some reference to the missionary in Athens and the hope to send more financial assistance to him."

All of the foreign missionaries were isolated, and in the money of the agents of impecuniosity. But they did not despair of their work, and apparently with no regret — save Loughlin's move to Texas after Union forces overran his area — all of the men who remained with their people in spite of the uncertainty of war. All of the missionaries suffered from lack of news of the war. When they wrote of their increasing by
receiving firewood, they now a few weeks on their journeys were being received. But they had little time to pause. Mr. Suggs had not received his ill wages since the death of his wife and Alexander Telfair's wife had also died in 1785. The arrangements were rapidly changing and one man wrote, "our officers are not be found." Although some Cherokees still had an uncle or a relative, the first for the majority would include little respect or protection and most. Since the church had provided only once-weekly to the three of the session of the annual meeting since 1782, the ministers had to arrange themselves. One man wrote traveling with and because, while his wife and young were older allies. astrology included because a part-time or more.2

Throughout the winter of 1786-1787, there was considerable. They heard one of the men were engaged the grandfather for the information that if they were always the superior and when the Indian prophecy was unable to come or until. But, because of the event, they had no idea about the distribution of people in the part of the territory and the political or difficult situation there.25

Chapter III - The Druids in Time

As the heart of our late Spring came into the Enemy of Invaders, a

he began a brutal war - a war of savagery and cruelty, in which no

of mankind or nature was spared in the bloody reign of the Druids.

Now the image of a Druid, though originally cruel, was fully confirmed in the

were used as sacrifices. The Druids knew that mankind was unprotected by

in the Druids' belief that the gods were

to"..."...The Druids knew that mankind was unprotected by..."...

content..."...The Druids knew that mankind was unprotected by..."...
effects of examples all around him. As far as a very small boy knew
from his family, relatives of all ages, crew, and community, the same was
true. Very few people seemed to remember the many events
which were small or large in the community in the community
of them. Activities were always forgotten and forgotten to
work to the disadvantage of the Confederate.

Throughout the Carolinas a诀著istic white's paramount the church's
attention to serve people even in the midst of confusion. These damaged
churches were always supported by the people. Federal raids,
however, created all manner of changes in the Federal army officer. It
roving soldiers in most of the white aristocratic quarters frequently
were to the nearest church for 'work' or baptism. They completely
rendezvous were constructed and several streets in the city disintegrated.
Windows and
doors opened to receive parts of fallen walls and fences and the
people to care for the sick.

Some of the casualties in the closing months of war. Soldiers,
unable to unlock their first support were in the enemy, serving in the
civilian's physical occupation. Furthermore, several such occurrences
as proof that the Confederacy had no capability to support for soldiers.

Letters explicitly described the damage to religious property all over
the South. At Dutch, for example, a church building was destroyed
without reason. Publics were broken up at Cantonville, Georgia,
McCabe's, We don't, and Chattooga. Soldiers carried off guns, stole

2 According to contemporary church records, ministers, preachers, and ser-
time equipment records, more than 500 Baptist and church buildings were
either damaged or actually burned as a result of Union army activity.
Confederates never indicated that Confederates solicited them "by persuasion" church property for their use, else.
decision in situations, and for all concrete walls.

Because the religious communities were the last and most nonvoluntary structures in any community, they were often used as field hospitals. Such use might last for many months, as in the case of First Church, Nashville, Tennessee, and Westminster, Maryland, or for the brief interval of a single battle, as in Prunell, Georgia, Franklin and Franklin, Tennessee. Medical necessities usually required that the interior of the buildings be designed as all女孩ings. Then, when the army moved on, the structure was left a ruined, empty shell almost useless for worship. Later in history, such buildings served in this manner. The old building, a religious church structure, was used first as a hospital and then was turned to similar structures for whose purposes the federal government. In a story, the First Church was used once as a shelter for the city folk in the last war.

In the Union army passed through what had been Confederate territory, the civilian population of this region familiarity received a visit by a Federal indenture. These indentures were not exempted from this visit for such experiences. They reached helplessly as soldiers rounded through their homes and rode away with whatever personal goods. For the defenseless civilians this was not war, but robbery. They thought that such activities were unknown in the realm of civilized society. Libraries were burned, homes ransacked, and all along country roads in these

3 List of Claims . . . . (Ackerman, 1820); Church and Institutions of the American Colonies . . . . (Macdonald, 1820); A History of the State . . . . (Macdonald, 1820); List of New England's Governor's Cay Islands. The Historical and Statistical Description of the Black Revolutionary Church of America. Tennessee ... (1840); History of Central Presbyterian Church, a Letter, (1840); (1840).
Lander, and food carried away in 'bumper o' cars. Cross these Federal lines Southern ministers were considered enemies of secession, that often searched out ministers' homes to extract their round of flesh and to count the inhabitants for their allegiance to a government they could not ever protect them.

Federal control brought complicated problems of loyalty to the civilians. They expected to be treated as "enemies," but in the view of the occupying forces, they were conquered people who supported a rebellion. They were, in short, subject to military rule and personal rights denied in combat. Because of their previous record as defenders of the Confederacy, citizens were required to renounce the government and pledge their loyalty to the United States. Many Presbyterian pastors escaped the dilemma by flight, but those who stayed to minister to their helpless flocks sometimes faced the fury of a vengeful army.

New Orleans was one of the first areas of the South to undergo all of the problems of occupation. With Palmer a refugee in South Carolina, the Presbyterian of the city were leaderless. The minister steadfastly refused to take the Federal oath of allegiance and many others maintained their "rebel pulpits." Rather than listen to "grim chaplains preach, most church members habitually absent themselves from the sanctuaries of the city's six Presbyterian churches. By 1864, only three of these congregations were holding regular services. In that same year, the pastor of New Orleans Presbyterian Church wrote lines renounced their affiliation with the Confederate General Assembly, saying

4 Jones and Randall, The World's Experience, 35-74; 22, December 17, 1863; January 3, 1864; May 4, 1864; 22, September 30, 1864; Downard Diary, June 9, 1863.
they were an "Independent Presbytery" and would not discuss political matters.5

In "Nashville, the situation was similar. After deterioration by the "blue line, some congregations split into rival factions. First Church became a hospital for a "gray and Second Church served as a Federal rest home. After many pro-Confederates left the city, the remainder of "Nashville Presbytery attempted to rejoin the Presbyterian out of the S.D. school assembly. When churchmen in "Confederate-held territory read of this action and the similar decision in "New Orleans, they contacted "Memphis and assured them that only small minorities had carried out the motive in both instances. "Memphis, "Nashville, and "Baltimore appealed in their services, but with frequent interruption by officers of the occupying army. They were certainly to prevent political polling in their communities and Federal compliance in the public.6

In "Nashville, the above mentioned rivalry of political factions increased in intensity as the war lengthened. "Hilltop" united closed one of the Presbyterian churches in "Nashville, but allowed the other to continue services. In the rural districts of this area, there were no courts, or justice — only force. Insurrections frequented the area, rival bands rose at night to harass their enemies. In this troubled land, ministers often had to allies but their faith and their courage. "Memphis, who remained in his Confederate sympathies, George Barton of


New Market, Tennessee, was closed by Unionists until he collapsed, unconscious. Two other preachers, recalling their friendship for Bagley and the refusal of all three to levy the Confederacy publicly, quietly slipped away to the safety of Confederate lines. Bagley's suffering recalled previous stories of the murder of a clergymen in northeastern Mississippi. John B. Willcox, who had previously served as commander of a Confederate cavalry regiment, was murdered and robbed by a quartet of Unionists in March, 1865, while on his way to deliver a Sabbath sermon.7

Any pastor behind Union lines always faced the threat of imprisonment or expulsion. Proven rebels were in no mood to allow anyone to encourage the enemy in their midst. When a pastor indicated that he was unwilling to forsake the Southern cause, the local military officer usually called on the court minister and threatened arrest. If this was insufficient to produce the desired results, then imprisonment usually followed.

Then any pastor came under "military control," an order was immediately issued directing all local inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. Clergymen especially were expected to comply with this order because of the hold these men generally exercised over their congregations. Many ministers complied with this order and continued preaching, offering political matters from their sermons. Any man who refused to take the oath was a sure target for surveillance. A few pastors, like George T. Armstrong in "uphill," took the oath "on the
principle of submission to a conquering foe," and then claimed that she had little fighting force since it was invested by force. Nevertheless, efforts led to imprisonment in the gaol of those who continued to demand the Confederacy after taking the oath."

One churchman strongly disagreed with the assertion that taking the oath led to disloyal naval service. They thought such a belief inconsistent with religious responsibility. Reminding Selma's earlier pronouncement in the same issue, William "Jimbly" Johnson, a minister of Virginia, also emphasized his attitude in the matter of oaths— an attitude which most people in Confederate territory accepted, but which was looked upon with reserve by many behind Union lines. Fuller stubbornly insisted that all oaths were binding. According to him, in fact, there was a "calling" in transgression, in which God is not only a witness, but a party. Even when taken under duress, oaths were morally binding. Only when required to participate in a wrong or evil act, could the oath-taker escape the obligation. After proving these assertions to his own satisfaction, Fuller proceeded to teach these weaker souls who submitted to "the pressure and strive allegiance to a government" that he condemned. These individuals were in more danger of the punishment for sin as he called on them to arise themselves and their neighbors to the dander."

Ruffner's words helped to strengthen men who faced the regular challenge to ensure their physical strength against their moral courage.

---

2. "A..." Journal, United States Records in Rumsa by Federal Authority

3. "A..." Journal, United States Records in Rumsa by Federal Authority

A number of ministers refused to take the oath. Two were expelled or deported by Federal authorities from their parishes and sent into Confederate territory. But a few notable individuals were not so easily moved. Armstrong, for example, continued his open opposition to Yankee authority, even during his lengthy imprisonment in Fort McPherson, Georgia. A neighbor of his, L. W. T. Seabury of Portsmouth, Virginia, spent two years in military prison for varying for the South on a Confederate Post-Boy and then plainly expressing his political sentiments to Union troops as he left the jail.

Another well-known personality who was taken into Federal custody was H. W. Boyd, the United Synod bishop in Northern Virginia. He was arrested at least twice for his political pronouncements and also was held as a hostage pending exchange of Northern ministers in Confederate prisons. The arrest of Boyd and all the other Southern Presbyterian clergyman provoked a storm of protest by religious leaders in the Confederacy. They claimed it was unjust to imprison men of the cloth and charged this was one more infringement of the Yankee officials.

To substantiate their charges of injustice by the occupying forces, Southerners pointed to alleged excesses by the Union soldiers. In Florence, Alabama, the pastor was said to have been "in flagrante delicto" with his "wife" for uttering prayers discrediting to the local military commander. In Tennessee, a pastor was arrested "for no crime or fault except that he was a staunch upholder of the Southern Confederacy."

Then he died soon after his release, his friends charged that his death had been brought on by exposure endured in military prison. Captured

10 Armstrong, "Negroooth Civil Warants," 26-27; Vanity, United States; 13, October 20, 1863.
chaplains were said to receive brutal treatment and were denied the care and kindness to which some thought their position entitled them. Most of the clergymen who fell before the might of the federal authorities were released soon after their arrest or capture. The return of such ministers produced an attack on the government which would stop to holding men of God in bondage.

But in 1862, the protests against the arrests of clergymen were barely visible in the southwest as news of arrests began to spread. Southern missionaries to take over Southern congregations and church buildings. In March, 1862, following a plan already in effect with regard to Methodist and Baptist propagandists, the Federal War Department issued an order requiring all to both Old and New South presbyterian in northern control of Southern church facilities. Military commanders were directed to allow Southern missionaries "to exercise the functions of their office" and to give "all the aid, assistance, and support which may be practicable and proper in the execution of their important duties." Another order gave Southern churches the power to appoint "local" ministers over congregations in "non-held territory.

To Confederates, those orders were the epitome of injustice. The war became an attempt to overcome Southern churches as well as Southern armies. More than ever the struggle became a battle for the Lord, for religion, and the "Protestant" Church in the Confederate States of America.


13. "Morgan, History During the Rebellion, 1835-1865; a similar order gave "local" Presbyterian ministers authority to take over L. E. C. congregations.
As missionaries came into the conquered areas, they were able to obtain possession of some sanctuaries. A number of priests with reference to particular areas aided these first propagators—particularly in Norfolk, New Orleans, Nashville, and Memphis. In some cases, Presbyterian chaplains used the power of the army to gain possession of the buildings and then turned them over to civilian congregation. A 
chaplain occupied the Methodist Second Church for many months and another preached in Tennessee until in New Orleans for two years. In Nashville, the Second Church began to receive home mission support from the 'Old South.'

The assistance which missionaries and chaplains were in the past provided lived contacts all over the South. Churches of church buildings were turned over to the blacks when the Negro army—then under station 
areas and cities. Apparently some religious missionaries fumbled as teachers, for some structures were used for Sunday preaching and weekday teaching. In other cases explained about these uses of other buildings, debating in religious services, and planted the怎么样 with attempting to invite incorporation among the slaves in 'reconstructed' society.

Confederate authorities often blamed the Federal presence as the cause of this movement to turn their preaching into adventures of freedom propagating. As far as many Negroes were concerned, this 
was but the most logical that Lincoln was a relentless war directing a relentless war—an unrelenting in a round conspiracy against Southern

---

1860," 1861 (October 20, 1861).
religion. He was pictured as offering "patriotism from his mouth,"
only after "the loss of liberty, property, rights and territory." These
critics failed to note—if they even knew of Lincoln's position on
these matters—that he had used his influence in the "peace-party" case
in St. Louis and later directed the military authorities not to terrorize
the congregations in Illinois. Later, when local citizens charged the
military with unnecessary seizure of a "pro-slave church building," the "pro-
slaver yelled," "aye. . . government must not undertake to run the
churches." 14

These accusations almost expected Lincoln personally to admit the
charges then charged him with, but they performed quite at odds with the
school participation in the activities. Throughout the Civil War, daily
directing garrisons of "Northern churches" writing to the "Confederacy,"
even these limited accounts implied participation who continued the
Northern assemblies from here. Then the 1860 Old School Assembly voted
to send missionaries into the "South," Confederate church groups eventually
voiced their opposition. Not only was this divide related with religious
wars and politics, but "they made it clear money that political opposition
will be one of the evils . . . of political subjugation." 15

The "South was a land of dominating political principles, said
many southerners. A particular example was thought to be the close link
between the Old and New Schools and the various political parties. These
religious bodies had left the "forms of spiritual responsibility. They

14 Calvin W. Wiley, Historical Views of National Events . . . (Spring-
field, Ill., 1863). 22. Together 13, 1862; Ophir, History During the
Rebellion, 1862. 23. T. S. Turner, History of the Second Presbyterian Church
of Memphis, Tennessee (Memphis, 1892), 11.
15 22, July 21, 1862; 23, September 4, 1862; 22, July 26, 1862; 23,
July 11, 1862.
were dominated by political considerations and after war decisions based on "fanatism." Many Southern church leaders thought the general assemblies of those churches had almost become auxiliary agencies of the United States Government.

By 1864, the attacks on the Northern Presbyterians increased and the clergy became a favorite target. "You can have no conception of their trumpeting zealilities," confided one traveller returned from north of the Potomac, "the clergy of the North... are the most time-serving and blood thirsty men in it." These men supposedly led the wave to steal communications and church buildings. They were intent on destroying the south, the way of life, and its way of religious beliefs. Defeat for Divine right religious rule. The Old School had already begun religious reconstruction with the formation of the Presbytery of West Virginia. This body, made up largely of congregations from Pennsylvania and Lexington Presbyteries was cited as the first of what might become many Yankee-occupied organizations. 16

Consistently an optimist voiced a sentiment of conciliation toward the religious bodies in the "south." Few present rules still were not convinced that all men in the enemy sector were as depraved and corrupt as the religious fire-eaters would have them believe. But any suggestion of this nature usually generated a sharp retort. Then he heard hints of possible post-war religious cooperation between Confederate and United States, a "North Carolina minister exclaimed for all to hear: "You may put -- down as one of the number that will never, no never, consent to a union with the Yankees. I hope that this is the

16 CE, November 27, 1862, June 11, 1863; CE, May 5, 1864; Calvin H. Wiley, Circular to the Authorities and People of North Carolina (Greensboro, C. S., 1863), 8; CE, February 25, August 17, 1864.
senti'ent of every Presbyterian."

Through all these attacks on churchmen in the enemy land, Con-

federate Presbyterians never recorded any criticism of the Northern

religious bodies in their tracts. They did condemn the war, the

Yankee, and the alleged evils of the Federal army in their resolutions

and narratives -- but the Northern Presbyterians went untouched. Yet

this was a misleading omission, for war had taught these people to

believe their former brethren so strongly that they had no need to record

or repeat the resolution scored in their souls.

27 WALL, December 28, 1862.
Chapter XIX. "Pace to the troubled waters."

In the eye of each new year, church papers usually contained some indication of the editors' expectation of the future. As these journalists dazed into the mystery of 1865 amid clouds of marching Union soldiers, they had few cheering predictions to offer their readers. Savannah had fallen to Sherman's columns after a bloody march across Georgia and a Confederate drive into Middle Tennessee had ended in crushing defeat. Although Lee's thin lines still blocked Grant's forces before Richmond, the trenches were always lengthening on the Confederate right, and the outnumbered defenders could not safely deploy their forces much more in that direction.

But in spite of these sad facts, the papers attempted to bolster the morale of the civilians. They repented the claims that God was in control and asked the people not to intervene in behalf of His chosen people. Although 1864 was "the bloody year" for the South, the North Carolina Presbyterian promised: "God is preparing the way for great blessing for us and for much usefulness through us." The Southern Presbyterian echoed this message and assured anyone who might doubt that the defenders of Dixie still enjoyed "true and sure, good weapons (truth, love and good works), and good support." 1

These papers reflected, perhaps better than they realized it, the impact of the war on the shattered South. Pages were smaller, ink was faded, and the paper was of consistently poor quality. Little news appeared in the columns of these sheets, for mail was no longer dependable and much that did pass for news was either gossip or rumor. Few

1 "SP, December 27, 1864; ID, December 29, 1864."
advertisements were included and by February, the cost of newspapers doubled in many areas. Only the Central Presbyterian among the quartet of church papers presented a pleasing appearance, for it managed to purchase a new sort of type early in the year.2

These papers contained numerous accounts of the continuing army revivals. Very articles were still included for benefit of the men in uniform and thousands of copies went to the camps. Statements from church societies filled long lists in each weekly paper and the Committee of Domestic Missions continued its efforts to send ministers to the camps, as well as to pay the expenses for these men. By February, this committee claimed 117 Presbyterian men were serving with the army and ninety were receiving support from the church.

There was continuing pride in the recent successes of organized army work by Presbyterians in the Trans-Mississippi area. The recent out of contact with the western end of the river, suffered some in the months after the fall of Milesburg. In newspaper and infrequent news from west of the river, any news about the men was left in its own resources, but still there was a religious revival — "In the refugee camp of the West" — and the Presbyterian church was in the area and "preparing to extend the work." 3

Combination remained the chance of victory early in the year. After believing the prospects of optimism for so long, they were uncertain if there was any chance to defeat the apparently endless procession of Yankee regiments which hurled themselves against the

---

2 [n/d, February 1, 1865; 22, January 26, 1865.
3 [n/d, February 1, 1865; Col. C. H. Lewis (Carter, Ark.) to Rev. W. F. Smith, February 17, 1865, "W. F. Smith Papers".]
battleships of the South. Some secretly ventured if the continuation of the war had any purpose. Perhaps the end of slavery would bring independence and peace. If so, that would be an easy price compared to the suffering and destruction seen in every hand.

Confederates headed the departments of Confederate peace commissioners to meet with representatives of the Union. They hoped, noting the departure of the commissioners, called for general reserves for the success of the venture. Later, when it became known that the negotiations failed, the papers called for renewed effort to win the war.

According to many, the Union's mission consisted of "defend the Confederacy and keep the Free States to the Free States. The slave must be free. The war is not to end, but in chains of slavery," because the army was afraid to refuse the imposed terms to the South.

Bureaus often drove the harassed civilians to flight. Reports of the approach of a Rebel column produced such panic. By early February, the movements of William Tecumseh Sherman's troops northward from Savannah, was no news. By the middle of the month, Yankees were in the workmen of Columbia, supposedly intent on punishing the defeat of the Confederate States. As the Yankees approached, civilians attempted to save themselves and their belongings. Union torches, who had signed the Government's "free and away" promise, burned his chemical预备 into the safety of the forest. The treasurer of Columbia

---

4 F. T., 14th Army, December 31, 1864.

5 12, February 14, 1865; 125, February 14, 1865; 127, February 1, 1865.
ladies hurried most of the valuable properties of that institution to save them from the hands of armed looters. Police, deeming his personal safety due to his prominent role in prestige, did not leave his family behind.

Near the junction of the sections of the city, they ostentatiously and most of the buildings of the federal government were burned and many were destroyed. The women remained in what was left when the flames had died down. The smoke of the burning buildings rose to the sky. Buildings suffered greatly in the hands of the invaders. The women and the children were taken into the homes of the invaders. A young child, William Thomas, was taken by the women and led into the home of the invader. The women, led by a leader, were taken to the home of the invader. The young child, William Thomas, was taken by the women and led into the home of the invader. A young child, William Thomas, was taken by the women and led into the home of the invader.
to the city, which in the war, and required regular services in the
Presbyterian Church, was almost a landmark amid the wreckage of the
wrecked city."

As the whirlwind of destruction moved on, churchmen in Virginia
tried to bolster morale. The Christian Observer said the present time
was the "trial of faith" and would require heroic effort of the
Christian. "And so spoke the brave men of the faith, calling on the people to lift its spirit and demonstrate that it yet
possessed the victory which it had known in its history.

The men who had never shunned the firing-line in the past, there in
the midst of the conflict, there in the midst of the
fight, the men who had never flinched in the face of the enemy, there
in the midst of the conflict, faced the people and said:

"The clergy of the Church will stand for the people. We will serve the
people. They have kept up the integrity of the people... We will
stand up for you and work."

When the city began to rise from its ashes, church people still called upon to rekindle the spirit
to be able to win the "trial of faith". The Christian Observer suggested
renewed the call for the welfare of the "Darling people who have
not yet been restored to their normal condition of well-being".
resources that are made for the urgent purpose. In other words, the

Central Government through its Office of Security and Intelligence

The "regular" pro-Communist in the U.S. was, until the 1950s

fears of rampant Communist subversion. The official, suspicious of

were far less for a war of subversion and infiltration. In some cases,

peace, undertaken some of their activities to counteract such

was a "comrade," still more común. In others, however, the

name of St. George, among the many that I have ever known

a circular order which in 1942 and 1943 was

The Supreme War Council in 1942 and 1943 was the last of the

period of "total war," which began with "the funeral bell" in

was accomplished in May. The American armed forces knew the

the children of the United States. The Supreme War Council

in the United States on May 15, and operations were the only

under the threat of that nations. In that sense, however, as the tables did not

select new conditions so that "the faithful historian might be told,

and to use, they [the armed forces] would be able to punch

While an unknown and would have been "shut up."

Thus, 1945; Jan., 1945; Feb., 1945; Mar., 1945; Apr., 1945; May, 1945;
out, in the meeting of 1862 were altered in many profound respects. They had undergone a profound change in every epoch and permutation. It was possible, if not possible, that these changes would have some important lessons for their own contemporaries. In the South, a glance from a distance made it clear that if the Blue Grass State would have been developed in power of the influence of religion in the future, then the changes were marked in the people of the South. The Blue Grass State could not be divided into sections, or into the various parties in its history, but when the angry sectionalism first arose, it was worse for the sectionalists.

In the South, in general, there was a feeling that of 1863 was a third thing to Federal value and was the last of the Federal war. It fell in the vanguard of the new and newly formed Union army. The city, as a whole, in their view, in the rear of war, the home of peace, still, and then, the feeling was that the city should be restored to the city and it must be evacuated. In the North, they, as a general, of 1863, were relieved, for what was a need to leave the city. Now, in a city contain the nation, the people and with a careful view. In the period of the battle were. Then, he noted that they, the city was not divided into sections, but asked that it. "Remember God is with us in the storm as well as in the calm."

As the Confederate soldiers left the city, they carried the instruction of unbreakable resolve. The instruction upon produced a

---

In: 22 March 20, 1865; 22 March 23, 1865; Russell, "Inches in the Mission," 14-20 (February 20, 1865).
general consolidation which characterized the areas of the city. People
find the city in every way possible. The lay of fire and destruction
had ended, with the Darwin sure to follow. In the holocaust that
was fear to generations went up in smoke—homes, churches, and the
hopes of independence. Like so many others, "we find the city". Because
of his native role in the war he feared for the future.12

When the last of the combat did not shake the confidence of some
churchmen, but those who were close to the front knew the mounting
crisis of the entire nation. Lee National commander rode through
the streets of Petersburg, painter, and told a command, "we are the
building and trying to protect the people who need it. Marines lost their hands
and Union soldiers after telling them of their surrender.

Finally, on April 9, the last battle raged. Two day Lee and
Grant arranged terms of surrender for the army of "Rebellion Virginia," and
soon after Lincoln announced that Grant would be arrested. When those officers stayed
with the war until the Union, he promised Lee that for them, was a "decisive
victory". Instead of using the "Private" flag, he then asked for the
Accepted with arms flowing from the fields, he returned to what had
happened. They had学会 firmly overtook the people of the South
and their forgotten "his flag."11

News of the surrender swept across the hills and valleys of Dixie
and caused profound sadness and fear wherever it was heard. "as she

11 Memorial Volume of Columbia Seminary, 1862-1865; Ellsworth Abbott,
"Irene the war," "New York Herald," 1865; Edward D. Pierce, The Fall
of Richmond, "Columbia," 1865; I.
University of Virginia, "State Journal," "The Americanist Collection,
The Journal of the Americanist Century and the Western States..." "Columbia," 1865; I.
conquerer was everywhere, reorganizing and reconstructing. We knew whether or not these men in blue would be the proud descents they had been declared to be. Countless tales circulated of their villainous conduct and hence rumors of the devils in blue seemed to be proved.

The apparent suddenness of the collapse left many Presbyterians dumb with surprise and shock. They still believed Lee was in control of events and they could not understand how victory finally escaped the South. Some thought they were no longer free-or, but were at the mercy of "Harlots Lords," with no other possible protection. In Columbia, Palmetto was not yet convinced of the finality of the military decision. Only the Confederate government was overthrown, he declared. The South was not conquered, for "the next generation would see the South free and independent."

From, the last remnants of Confederate forces surrendered and the leading officials either rode their horses from the country or were captured. Jefferson Davis was overthrown in "Georgia on" transported "north for possible trial. Then his carriage rolled through Augusta, young Woodrow Wilson peered through the window of his father's house and watched the passing of an era. Meanwhile, in North Carolina, a tired mother recorded her views on the outcome of the great struggle to preserve her state from the invaders: "I believe the hand of the Lord is pulling this storm and in His own way and time, will speak peace to the troubled waters."


14 William Eller White, Woodrow Wilson (Boston, 1934), 32; Elliott Diary, April 24, 1865.
Appendix A

Statistics of Presbyterian Bodies, 1860.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presbyteries</th>
<th>Ministers</th>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. 171 (Old School)</td>
<td>2693</td>
<td>3592</td>
<td>292,357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. 62 (Old School) -- Slave States only.</td>
<td>1026</td>
<td>1574</td>
<td>104,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. 14 (Old School) -- Slave States, minus synods in the Border States.</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>1166</td>
<td>74,713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. 104 (New School)</td>
<td>1527</td>
<td>1133</td>
<td>134,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Synod of the Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>11,934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of the South</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Presbyterian Church</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Joseph H. Wilson (ed.), The Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual Remembrancer of the Church, for 1861 (Philadelphia, 1862), 120-121, 170-172, 193, 327.
Appendix E

Education Institutions in the
Confederacy, Administered by Presbyterians.

**Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of the South:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Controlling Body</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erskine College</td>
<td>Due West, S. C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erskine Theological Seminary</td>
<td>Due West, S. C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Controlling Body</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School of Bethany Church</td>
<td>Liberty, Va.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Prairie Institute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piedmont Institute</td>
<td>Liberty, Va.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Controlling Body</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aranaza College</td>
<td>Colia, Tex.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas Synodical College (proposed)</td>
<td>Arkadelphia, Ark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusta Female Seminary</td>
<td>Staunton, Va.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austin College</td>
<td>Huntsville, Tex.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concord Female College</td>
<td>Statesville, N. C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davidson College</td>
<td>Davidson, N. C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette Female Academy</td>
<td>Fayette, Miss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence Synodical Female College</td>
<td>Florence, Ala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griffin Female College</td>
<td>Griffin, Ga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greensboro Female College</td>
<td>Greensboro, Ga.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hampden-Sydney College
Knox Hill Presbyterian Academy
LaGrange College
Laurensville Female College
Montgomery Female Collegiate Institute
Montgomery Male Academy
Oakland College
Oglethorpe University
Peace Institute
Pontotoc Female Collegiate Institute
Presbyterian High School
Rio Grande Female Institute
Rock Female College
South Alabama Presbyterian Male Academy
Southern Female Institute (proposed)
Stewart College
Talladega Female Institute
Theological Seminary of the Synods of South Carolina and Georgia
Union Theological Seminary
Yorkville Female College

Prince Edward County, Va.
Florida Presbytery
LaGrange, Tenn.
Synod of Memphis
Laurens, S. C.
South Carolina Pres.
Christiansburg, Va.
Montgomery Pres.
Christiansburg, Va.
Montgomery Pres.
near Hatchez, Miss.
Synod of Mississippi
Midway, Ga.
Synods of Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina
Raleigh, N. C.

Pontotoc, Miss.
North Mississippi and Chickasaw Presbyteries.
Union, Va.
Greenbrier Pres.
Brownsville, Tex.
Western Texas Pres.
Rome, Ga.
Synod of Georgia
Lower Peach Tree, Ala.
South Alabama Pres.
Jackson, Miss.
Central Mississippi Presbytery
Clarksville, Tenn.
Synod of Nashville
Talladega, Ala.
Synod of Alabama
Columbia, S. C.
Synods of Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina
Prince Edward County, Va.
Synods of North Carolina and Virginia
Yorkville, S. C.
Bethel Presbytery
Appendix C

List of Delegates, Atlanta Convention, August 15-17, 1861. ¹

Delegates

Ministers and Presbyteries:

*John B. Adger, South Carolina
*John W. Baker, Cherokee
*Joseph Bardwell, Nashville
Groves H. Cartledge, Hopewell
Thomas R. English, Harmony
*John S. Harris, Bethel
C. I. King, Hopewell

*James P. McLellen, Tuscaloosa
*George W. M. Petrie, East Alabama
*Abner A. Porter, Charleston
*Henry R. Raymond, South Alabama
*J. McKelli Turney, South Carolina
*J. Leighton Wilson, Harmony²

John S. Wilson, Flint River

Elders and Presbyteries:

A. A. Archibald, Tuscaloosa
David Ardiz, Cherokee
*William H. Cooper, Flint River
Andrew Crawford, Charleston
J. L. Harper, North Mississippi
Robert S. Hope, Bethel

Job Johnston, South Carolina
*William L. Hitchell, Hopewell
Thomos C. Perrin, South Carolina
Archibald Simpson, Cherokee
S. E. Wilson, Harmony

Corresponding Members

Ministers:

Carlisle P. Berman, Hopewell
James W. Hoyte, Nashville
John J. Lindsay, South Carolina

Edward P. Palmer, Cherokee
James L. Rogers, Flint River
Jares Stacy, Flint River

Elders:

"Elder Colonel" D. C. Campbell, Hopewell
Joseph Pinson, Flint River³

F. S. Simpson, Hopewell

¹ Proceedings of a convention of delegates from various presbyteries in the Confederate States of America, held in the First Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Georgia, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of August, 1861 (Atlanta, 1861), 3-4; CP, August 31, 1861. Asterisks denote members of the committee which drew up the important reports of the convention.

² Wilson is not listed as a delegate in the Convention role.

³ This name is listed as Joseph Pierson in CP, August 31, 1861.
Appendix D

Presbyterian Chaplains Officially Commissioned by the Confederate Government

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Regiment/Unit</th>
<th>Date of Commission</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachman, Jon. W.</td>
<td>Tenn.</td>
<td>60th Tenn. Regt.</td>
<td>Oct 31 '61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, John C.</td>
<td>Va.</td>
<td>60th Va. Regt.</td>
<td>Jan 1 '62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punting, Robert F.</td>
<td>Tex.</td>
<td>8th Texas Cav. Regt.</td>
<td>Nov 1 '61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castleton, Thomas</td>
<td>Tex.</td>
<td>Houston, Texas</td>
<td>Dec 22 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapman, John B.</td>
<td>Tenn.</td>
<td>32nd Tenn. Regt.</td>
<td>Sep 18 '62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleghorn, Elisha B.</td>
<td>La.</td>
<td>17th La. Regt.</td>
<td>Feb 20 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper, E. E.</td>
<td>Ga.</td>
<td>Cobb's Cavalry</td>
<td>Mar 6 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craig, John N.</td>
<td>S. C.</td>
<td>5th S. C. Regt.</td>
<td>May 15 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davidson, Edwin C.</td>
<td>Miss.</td>
<td>21st Miss. Regt.</td>
<td>Jun 13 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farrow, W. T.</td>
<td>S. C.</td>
<td>1st S. C. Regt.</td>
<td>Feb 9 '61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 "Register of Appointment of Chaplains, 1861-1865," Chapter I, Volume 132, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, National Archives.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>City/Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gilmer, Thomas W.</td>
<td>Ga.</td>
<td>Macon, Ga.</td>
<td>Sep 3 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goulding, Francis R.</td>
<td>Ga.</td>
<td>Hospital, New Han</td>
<td>Dec 9 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green, Edward M.</td>
<td>Miss.</td>
<td>30th Miss. Regt.</td>
<td>Sep 30 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall, William T.</td>
<td>Miss.</td>
<td>45th Miss. Regt.</td>
<td>Sep 27 '62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris, John N.</td>
<td>Va.</td>
<td>Liberty, Va.</td>
<td>Jan 21 '64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooper, Thomas W.</td>
<td>Va.</td>
<td>2nd Va. Regt.</td>
<td>Apr 30 '62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoyt, Henry D.</td>
<td>Ca.</td>
<td>2nd Ca. Cav. Regt.</td>
<td>Aug 19 '64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutton, Cornelius H.</td>
<td>S. C.</td>
<td>Mount Pleasant, S. C.</td>
<td>Jan 17 '62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James, Albert A.</td>
<td>S. C.</td>
<td>18th S. C. Regt.</td>
<td>Nov 11 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirkland, Alexander</td>
<td>N. C.</td>
<td>33rd N. C. Regt.</td>
<td>Jan 15 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacy, Beverly Tucker</td>
<td>Va.</td>
<td>Camp of Instruction, Richmond</td>
<td>Oct 15 '64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacy, Drury</td>
<td>N. C.</td>
<td>Raleigh, N. C.</td>
<td>Aug 5 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacy, William S.</td>
<td>N. C.</td>
<td>47th N. C. Regt.</td>
<td>Dec 9 '62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leps, James H.</td>
<td>Va.</td>
<td>Hospitals, Red Sulphur,</td>
<td>Oct 13 '64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Union and Montgomery Springs, Va.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little, James</td>
<td>Fla.</td>
<td>9th Fla. Regt.</td>
<td>Dec 11 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCrory, William P.</td>
<td>Miss.</td>
<td>5th Miss. Regt.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDowell, James</td>
<td>S. C.</td>
<td>Palmetto Sharp Shooters</td>
<td>Jun 7 '62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McInnis, Richmond</td>
<td>La.</td>
<td>Hospital, Newton, Miss.</td>
<td>Nov 12 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McKinnon, Luther</td>
<td>N. C.</td>
<td>36th N. C. Regt.</td>
<td>Jan 15 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McNaun, Evander</td>
<td>N. C.</td>
<td>24th N. C. Regt.</td>
<td>Jul 23 '62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>Unit</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McNeilly, James H.</td>
<td>Tenn.</td>
<td>19th Tenn. Regt.</td>
<td>Dec 1 '62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hacket, Joseph E.</td>
<td>Tenn.</td>
<td>55th Tenn. Regt.</td>
<td>Jun 13 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery, Samuel K.</td>
<td>Miss.</td>
<td>22nd Miss. Regt. Art.</td>
<td>Aug 22 '62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morrison, Hugh K.</td>
<td>Miss.</td>
<td>19th Miss. Regt.</td>
<td>Sep 5 '62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morse, Albert A.</td>
<td>S. C.</td>
<td>17th S. C. Regt.</td>
<td>Feb 19 '64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petrie, George L.</td>
<td>Ala.</td>
<td>22nd Ala. Regt.</td>
<td>Mar 1 '64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porter, George J.</td>
<td>S. C.</td>
<td>65th S. C. Regt.</td>
<td>Nov 30 '64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porter, Joseph D.</td>
<td>Ala.</td>
<td>Gen. Braxton Bragg</td>
<td>May 10 '64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pryor, Theodorick</td>
<td>Va.</td>
<td>Gen. Robert E. Lee</td>
<td>Apr 22 '64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosser, William K.</td>
<td>Tenn.</td>
<td>3rd Tenn. Regt.</td>
<td>Feb 23 '63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoddard, William R.</td>
<td>Miss.</td>
<td>Amandale, Miss.</td>
<td>Sep 1 '62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sturgeon, James C.</td>
<td>Ala.</td>
<td>Howard's Grove Hospital</td>
<td>Aug 27 '64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, Robert F.</td>
<td>Va.</td>
<td>Jackson Hospital</td>
<td>May 23 '64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, Luther H.</td>
<td>Tenn.</td>
<td>11th Tenn. Regt.</td>
<td>Sep 3 '64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witherspoon, Thomas D.</td>
<td>Miss.</td>
<td>2nd Miss. Regt.</td>
<td>May 12 '62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix E

#### Missionaries

Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America

**Indian Missionaries:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Falentine, Hamilton</td>
<td>Chickasaw Mission</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denton, Thomas</td>
<td>Choctaw Mission</td>
<td>licentiate (Indian - tribe unknown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyington, Cyrus</td>
<td>Choctaw Mission</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copeland, Charles C.</td>
<td>Choctaw Mission</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisk, Pliny</td>
<td>Cherokee Mission</td>
<td>ordained (Choctaw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreman, Stephen</td>
<td>Cherokee Mission</td>
<td>ordained (Cherokee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotchkin, Ebenezer</td>
<td>Choctaw Mission</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingsbury, Cyrus</td>
<td>Choctaw Mission</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilley, John</td>
<td>Seminole Mission</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loughridge, Robert N.</td>
<td>Creek Mission</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perryman, J. K.</td>
<td>Creek Mission</td>
<td>licentiate (Creek)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reid, Alexander</td>
<td>Choctaw Mission</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stark, Oliver P.</td>
<td>Choctaw Mission</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright, Allen</td>
<td>Chickasaw Mission</td>
<td>ordained (Choctaw)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Foreign Missionaries:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Danforth, John A.</td>
<td>Jingpo, China</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGilvary, Daniel</td>
<td>Petchaburi, Thailand</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States

**Foreign Missionaries:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalopothakes, Michael D.</td>
<td>Athens, Greece</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shea, Samuel A.</td>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>ordained</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography

1. Primary Sources

A. Manuscripts — Records of Church Bodies.

Records of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of the South.

"Minutes of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of the South."

"Minutes of the First Presbytery of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of the South."

"Minutes of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Presbytery of Georgia."

"Minutes of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Presbytery of Kentucky."

Records of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.

"Minutes of the Synod of Alabama."

"Minutes of the Synod of Arkansas."

"Minutes of the Synod of Kentucky."

"Minutes of the Synod of Memphis."

"Records of the Synod of Missouri."

"Minutes of the Synod of Nashville."

"Minutes of the Synod of South Carolina."

"Minutes of the Synod of Texas."

"Minutes of the Presbytery of Arkansas."

"Minutes of Presbytery of Bethel."

"Minutes of the Presbytery of Brazos."

"Minutes of the Presbytery of Central Texas."

"Minutes of the Presbytery of Charleston."

---

1 All listed manuscript records and collections were consulted for the period of 1861 to 1865. Unless otherwise specified, all manuscripts listed are in the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat, North Carolina.
"Minutes of the Presbytery of Cherokee."
"Minutes of the Presbytery of Chickasaw."
"Minutes of Presbytery of Concord."
"Minutes of the Presbytery of East Alabama."
"Records of East Hanover Presbytery." Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.
"Minutes of the East Mississippi Presbytery."
"Minutes of the Presbytery of Eastern Texas."
"Minutes of Presbytery of Fayetteville."
"Minutes of Flint River Presbytery."
"Minutes of the Presbytery of Florida."
"Minutes of the Presbytery of Georgia."
"Records of Greenbrier Presbytery." Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.
"Records of the Presbytery of Holston."
"Minutes of the Presbytery of Hopewell."
"Minutes of the Indian Presbytery."
"Records of the Presbytery of Knoxville."
"Minutes of the Presbytery of Lafayette."
"Minutes of Lexington Presbytery."
"Minutes of the Presbytery of Louisiana."
"Records of Louisville Presbytery."
"Minutes of the Maury Presbytery."
"Minutes of the Presbytery of Memphis."
"Minutes of the Mississippi Presbytery."
"Minutes of Missouri Presbytery."
"Minutes of Montgomery Presbytery."
"Minutes of the Presbytery of New Orleans."
"Minutes of the Presbytery of North Mississippi."

"Minutes of Presbytery of Orange."

"Minutes of the Presbytery of Ouachita."

"Minutes of Presbytery of Platte."

"Records of Presbytery of Potosi."

"Minutes of the Presbytery of Red River."

"Records of Roanoke Presbytery." Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

"Minutes of Presbytery of St. Louis."

"Minutes of the Presbytery of South Alabama."

"Minutes of Presbytery of South Carolina."

"Minutes of the Presbytery of Tombigbee."

"Minutes of Transylvania Presbytery."

"Minutes of the Presbytery of Tuscaloosa."

"Records of the Proceedings of the Tuscaloosa Presbytery."

"Records of Presbytery of Upper Missouri."

"Records of West Hanover Presbytery." Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

"Minutes of the Presbytery of West Lexington." (1861)

"Minutes of the Presbytery of the Western District."

"Minutes of the Presbytery of Western Texas."

"Records of Winchester Presbytery." Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

"Records of the Choctaw Mission."

Records of the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church.

"Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi." (1861)

"Minutes of the Synod of Virginia." (1861-1863) Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.
"Records of Hanover Presbytery." (1861-1864) Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

"Minutes of Holston Presbytery."

"Records of New River Presbytery." (1861-1862)

"Records of Newton Presbytery." (1861-1862)

"Minutes of the Presbytery of North Alabama."

"History of Kinston Presbytery connected with the Synod of Tennessee -- brought down from its organization to the summer of 1887." Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Records of Church Related Colleges.

"Minutes of Austin College Board of Trustees." Austin College, Sherman, Texas.

"Davidson College Faculty Minutes." Davidson College, Davidson, North Carolina.

"Record of the Runcorn Society." Davidson College, Davidson, North Carolina.

"Minutes Book of the Philanthropic Society of Davidson College." Davidson College, Davidson, North Carolina.

"Records of the Faculty of Union Theological Seminary." Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

Personal Papers.

S. A. Agnew Diary. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Anderson-Thornwell Papers. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.


Diary of Gilbert Robbins Brackett."


Dabney Papers. Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

Charles E. Dabney Papers. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Robert L. Dabney Papers. Manuscripts Collection, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

"Diary of John W. W. Davidson, First Clerk of Session, Quincy, Florida, October 15, 1860 -- January 6, 1861." Typescript.

Diary of Jacob Doll.

Diary of Mrs. Jane Evans Elliott.

"Private Journal of William Henry Poole." Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

L. C. Allen Papers. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

John erkley Grimes Diary. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

James A. Hall Papers. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Hemphill Papers. Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.


Hoge Papers.

Letters of Moses Drury Hoge. Manuscripts Collection, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

"Letters to William J. Hoge."

Thomas Cary Johnson Papers. Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.


Sarah Goodrich Leach Diary. Manuscripts Collection, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

"Journal of the Reverend James A. Lyon, Columbus, Mississippi, 1861-1870." Typescript. Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi.

Francis McFarland Diary. Manuscripts Collection, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

Francis McFarland Papers.

Francis McFarland Papers. Manuscripts Collection, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.


James Morrison Papers. Manuscripts Collection, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

Isaac Haff Papers.

"Letters received by the Rev. Abner A. Porter, Editor of the Southern Presbyterian, 1860-1861."

"Register of Appointment of Chaplains, 1861-1865." Chapter I, Volume 132, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

W. H. Ruffner Papers.

R. Y. Russel, "Book of Labors in the Ministry."

R. Y. Russel Papers.

Jesse G. Shepherd Papers. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Diary of Benjamin Hosby Smith. Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

W. H. Smith Papers.

Diary of Jacob Henry Smith. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Letters of Thomas Smyth.

Joseph Clay Stiles Correspondence. Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
"Obituaries of the Synod of Mississippi." Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi.

Ella Gertrude (Clanton) Thomas Journals. Manuscripts Collection, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.


R. A. Webb Papers.

3. Printed Sources -- Confederate Imprints.

Address by the General Assembly to all churches of Jesus Christ throughout the earth. Unanimously adopted at their sessions in Augusta, Ga., Dec., 1861. [Richmond, 1861]

Address of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, to all the churches of Jesus Christ throughout the earth. Adopted unanimously at the organization of the General Assembly in Augusta, Ga., December, 1861. Published by order of the Assembly. [Augusta, 1861]

Address to Christians throughout the World. [Richmond, 1863].

Appeal to the People of Virginia. [Richmond, 1863].


Atkinson, Joseph M. God, the river of victory and peace. A Thanksgiving sermon, delivered in the Presbyterian Church, September 13, 1862, Raleigh, N. C. [Raleigh? 1862?]


The constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, consisting of the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechism, the Form of Government, the Book of Discipline, and the Directory of Worship, as ratified by the General Assembly, at Augusta, Dec. 4, 1861. Richmond, 1861.

Dabney, Robert L. The believer born of Almighty Grace. Richmond, nd.

. The Christian soldier; a sermon commemorative of the death of


A memorial of Lieut. Colonel John T. Thornton, of the Third Virginia Cavalry, C. S. A. Richmond, 1861.


De Veaux, Thomas L. Fast-Day Sermon, preached in the Good Hope Church, Lowndes County, Alabama, Thursday, June 13th, 1861. Wytheville, Va., 1861.

Du Bose, John B. /Serm/On / Capt. Parke/T's Company,
"The Howell Guards," on the eve of their departure for the seat of war, August 20, 1861, by Rev. John B. Du Bose, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Tallahassee, Florida. Published by request of the company and citizens. Tallahassee, 1861.

Ford, S. H. An Address to the Confederate Soldiers of the Southwest. Grenada, Miss., 1862.

Higgins, Samuel H. "The mountain moved; or, David upon the cause and cure of public calamity," . . . delivered on fast day in Killenedgeville, December 16th, 1851 /i.e., 1851/, at the request of the General Assembly of Georgia. Killenedgeville, Ga., 1853.


The Scotch-Irish and their first settlements on the Tyger River, and other neighboring precincts in South Carolina. A centennial discourse, delivered at Nazareth Church, Spartanburg District, S. C., September 14, 1861. Columbia, S. C., 1861.

Jones, Charles Colcock. Religious instruction of the Negroes. An Address delivered before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at Augusta, Ga., December 10, 1861. Richmond, 1862.

Jones, John. The Southern soldier's duty; a discourse delivered . . . to the Rome Light Guards and Miller Rifles, in the Presbyterian Church of Rome, Ga., on Sabbath morning, the 26th of May, 1861. Rome, Ga., 1861.
King, Samuel A. A sermon delivered in the Presbyterian Church, at Milford, Texas, Confederate fast day, Friday, April 5th, 1861, being the day set apart by the Confederate Congress as a day of fasting and prayer. Published by subscription, and the proceeds of sale applied to purchase of religious reading matter for Texas soldiers in Trans-Mississippi Department. Houston, 1861.

Lacy, Drury. Address delivered at the general military hospital, Wilson, N. C., on the day appointed by the President as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. Fayetteville, N. C., 1863.

Lafferty, Robert F. Fast Day Sermon preached in the Church of Sugar Creek, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, February 27, 1862. Fayetteville, N. C., 1862.


Minutes of the Synod of Georgia, 1861-1865. Up, nd.


Minutes of the Synod of Virginia, 1861-1862. [Richmond?], 1861-1862.

Minutes of the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; with an appendix. Hay, A. D., 1861. Richmond, 1861.

Minutes of the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church, in the Confederate States of America; with an appendix, Hay, A. D., 1863. Richmond, 1863.


.... A sermon delivered in the Government Street Church, on the National Fast appointed by Jefferson Davis, President of these Confederate States, June 13, 1861. Mobile, 1861.

Moore, Thomas V. God our refuge and strength in this war. A discourse before the congregations of the First and Second Presbyterian Churches, on the day of humiliation, fasting and prayer, appointed by President Davis, Friday, Nov. 15, 1861. Richmond, 1861.

Moore, William L. The life and works of Col. Henry Hughes; a funeral sermon, preached in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Port Gibson, Miss., October 25th, 1862. Mobile, 1863.

Organization of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. Augusta, 1861/.

A discourse before the General Assembly of South Carolina, on December 10, 1853, appointed by the Legislature as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. Columbia, S. C.


National Responsibility before God. A discourse, delivered on the day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, appointed by the President of the Confederate States of America, June 13, 1861. New Orleans, 1861.

The oath of allegiance to the United States. No, 1862.


A pastoral letter of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to the ministers and members of its congregations in the Confederate Army. /Richmond, 1862/

The position, relations and prospects of the United Synod; in reference to the moral issues involved in the present war. Adopted by the Synod of Virginia, October 25th, 1862. Richmond, 1863.

Proceedings of a convention of delegates from various Presbyteries in the Confederate States of America, held in the First Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Georgia, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of August, 1861. Atlanta, 1861.


Raymond, Henry A. A sermon with reference to the death of David Y. Huntington, who fell on "Cannassas Plains" 30th August, 1862. Preached in the Presbyterian Church, Marion, Alabama, on the 6th February, 1863. Marion, Ala., 1863.

Report of the provisional committee on foreign missions, presented to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate


Sinclair, Alexander. A thanksgiving sermon, preached in the Presbyterian Church at Six-mile Creek, Lancaster District, S. C., on Thursday, September 18th, 1862. N.p., 1862.

Smith, Jacob Henry. A sermon delivered at Greensboro, N. C., ... on the 5th of December, 1861, the day appointed for thanksgiving by the Governor of the State of North Carolina. Greensboro, 1862.


Tatem, Joseph C. National rectitude the only true basis of national prosperity: an appeal to the Confederate States. Petersburg, a., 1863.


Tucker, John R. The Bible or atheism. N.p., nd.

Tucker, John R. The Southern church justified in its support of the South in the present war: a lecture, delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association, of Richmond, on the 21st May, 1863. Richmond, 1863.

Wedder, Charles S. "Offer unto God Thanksgiving": a sermon delivered in the Summerville Presbyterian Church on Sunday, July 25, 1861. Charleston, 1861.

Vernor, W. H. A sermon, delivered before the Marshall Guards No. 1, on Sunday, May 5th, 1861. At the Presbyterian Church, Lewisburg, Tennessee. Lewisburg, Tenn., 1861.

The Westminster shorter catechism, ratified by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, at Augusta, Georgia, December 4, 1861. Richmond, 1862.


* Scriptural views of national trials: or the true road to the independence and peace of the Confederate States of America. Greensboro, N. C., 1853.


Wilson, Joseph R. Mutual relation of masters and slaves as taught in the Bible. A discourse preached in the First Presbyterian Church, Augusta, Georgia, on Sabbath morning, Jan. 6, 1851. Augusta, 1851.

Winch, Thomas J. The great victory at Manassas' Junction; God the arbiter of battles, a Thanksgiving sermon, preached in the Presbyterian Church, at Concord, Greene County, Alabama, on the 25th day of July, 1861. Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1861.

Woodrow, James. An address delivered at the inauguration of the Perkins Professor of Natural Science in Connection with Revelation, before the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, at Marietta, Georgia, November 22, 1851. Columbia, S. C., 1852.

Other Church Records and Personal Writings.

Addresses at the Inauguration of Rev. Rufus Bailey, A. M., as President of Austin College, Huntsville, Texas, February 13, 1859. Houston, 1859.

Adger, John P. My Life and Times, 1810-1892. Richmond, 1899.


Armstrong, George L. "What Hath God Brought?" A Historical Discourse preached June 25, 1876, on the completion of a twenty-five years ministry in the First Presbyterian Church, Norfolk, Virginia. Norfolk, 1876.


* The Iron Furnace; or, Slavery and Secession. Philadelphia, 1863.


Bocock, Mrs. John H. *Selections from the Religious and Literary Writings of John H. Bock, D. D., with a Biographical Sketch.* Richmond, 1891.


Cartledge, Groves W. *Sermons and Discussions with an Autobiography.* Richmond, 1903.


Churches and Institutions of Learning Destroyed by the United States Military Forces during the Civil War, but not as an Act of Military Necessity, the Materials Having Been Appropriated and Used. Washington, 1912.


De Leon, Thomas C. *Four Years in Rebel Capitals; an inside view of life in the Southern Confederacy, from birth to death, from original notes, collated in the years 1861 to 1865.* Mobile, 1898.


Du Rose, Hampden C. *Memoirs of Rev. John Leighton Wilson, D. D., Missionary to Africa; and Secretary of Foreign Missions.* Richmond, 1895.

Eagleton, Davis F. *A Memorial Sketch of Rev. George Ewing Eagleton; The Record of a Busy Life.* Richmond, 1900.

Extract from the Minutes of the General Convention of the Independent Presbyterian Church, convened at Jilney Church, August 9, 1830. Yorkville, S. C., 1850.


Foreman, Grant (ed.). *Notes of a Missionary Among the Cherokees,* Chronicles of Oklahoma, 4(1932), 171-189.


Handy, Isaac W. C. *United States Bonds; or, Duress by Federal Authority: a journal of current events during an imprisonment of fifteen months, at Fort Delaware.* Baltimore, 1872.


Hoge, Peyton H. *Moses Drury Hoge: Life and Letters.* Richmond, 1890.

Hoge, William J. *A Discourse delivered by ... the Collegiate Pastor of the Trux Presbyterian Church, New York, on the resignation of His Charge.* New York, 1861.

Hutchinson, John R. *Reminiscences, Sketches and Addresses selected from my Papers during a Ministry of Forty-Five Years in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.* Houston, 1874.

Jackson, Mary Anna. *Memoirs of Stonewall Jackson.* Louisville, 1895.


The Life and Letters of Robert Lewis Dabney. Richmond, 1903.

Jones, W. William. Christ in the Camp; or, Religion in Lee's Army. Richmond, 1858.

Jones, Mary Sharpe and Mallard, Mary Jones. "Yankees Alloming." One Month's Experience During the Invasion of Liberty County, Georgia, 1864-1865. Edited by Haskell Monroe. Tuscaloosa, 1959.

Lewis, Anna (ed.). "Diary of a Missionary to the Choctaw, 1850-1851," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XII(1913), 122-147.


List of Claims upon which the Court of Claims has made a report, but which are not included in H. R. 19115, and amendments proposed to said bill. Washington, 1912.

List of War Claims confined entirely to claims for use and occupation or rent of church buildings, college buildings, and other public buildings by the military forces of the United States during the war, coupled in some cases with a claim for damages done to the building during the occupancy with a statement in each case compiled for convenience of members of the Senate Committee on Claims in connection with an examination of H. R. 19115. Washington, 1912.

List of War Claims including a few Exceptional Cases of claims for churches; also a list of other claims to which objections appear, such as laches, no proof of loyalty, insufficient evidence as to facts, evidence of payment and statutory bars with a statement of each compiled for convenience of members of the Senate Committee on Claims in connection with an examination of H. R. 19115. Washington, 1912.


Lyon, James A. Christianity and Civil Law. Columbus, Miss., 1357.


Minutes of the Synod of Kentucky, 1851-1862. No, nd.

Minutes of the Synod of Mississippi, 1851-1862. Jackson, Miss., 1860.

Mitchell, Arthur. A Word of Scripture to North and South. A Sermon delivered at the Third Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Virginia, on Sunday, December 30th, 1862. Richmond, 1861.


Palmer, Benjamin W. The Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell. Richmond, 1875.


Porter, Rufus W. Christian Duty in the Present Crisis: The Substance of a sermon delivered in the Presbyterian Church, Mayesboro, Georgia, December 9, 1850. Savannah, 1850.

Pratt, Nathaniel A. Perils of the Dissolution of the Nation. Atlanta, 1856.


Rankin, Delinda. Twenty Years among the Mexicans, A Narrative of Missionary Labor. Cincinnati, 1872.


Smyth, Thomas. The Sin and the Curse; or, The Union, and the True Source of Disunion, and Our Duty in the Present Crisis. A discourse preached on the occasion of the day of humiliation and prayer appointed by the Governor of South Carolina on Nov. 21st, 1830, in the Second Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C. Charleston, 1830.


The Rights and Duties of Masters. Charleston, 1811.

Waddel, John W. Memorials of Academic Life; Being an Historical Sketch of the Waddel Family. Richmond, 1891.


Wilson, John S. Necrology: The Dead of the Synod of Georgia. Atlanta, 1889.


Mize, John S. The End of an Era. Boston, 1897.

Newspapers and Periodicals.

Atlanta Constitution Guardia n (renamed the Southern Confederacy, March 4, 1861). 1861-1863.

Augusta Daily Chronicle and Sentinel. December 1861.

Augusta Daily Constitutionalist. December 1861.

Augusta Weekly Chronicle and Sentinel. 1861-1865.

Bellville (Tex.) Countryman. 1861-1865.

Central Presbyterian (Richmond). 1865-1865.

Charlotte Western Democrat. 1861-1862.

Children's Friend (Richmond). 1862-1864.
The Countryman (Tullamore, Ga.). September 1862-December 1862.
Fayetteville (N. C.) Observer. Scattered issues, 1861-1865.
Houston (Texas) Weekly Telegraph. 1860-1861.
New Orleans Bee. November and December 1860.
True Witness (N. Y. City). 1860-1861.

2. Secondary Works

A. Unpublished Dissertations and Theses.


Books

Abel, Annie W. The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist. Cleveland, 1915.


Beckman, L. A. History of Bethsalem Presbyterian Church, Choctaw County, Mississippi. Weir, Miss., 1913.


Cauthen, Charles S. South Carolina Goes to War, 1860-1865. Chapel Hill, 1933.
Centennial Addresses Commemorating the Birth of James Henley Thornwell. Spartanburg, S. C., 1913.

Centennial Celebration of the Dedication of the First Presbyterian Church, Charleston, South Carolina. Charleston, 1917.


Coulter, S. W. T. The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky. Chapel Hill, 1926.

———. College Life in the Old South. New York, 1926.


Craig, B. L. A Historical Sketch of New Hope Church in Orange County, North Carolina. Reidsville, N. C., 1936.


———. The Road to Disappearance. Norman, 1941.

Exercises connected with the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Second Presbyterian Church of Charleston, S. C. Charleston, 1918.

First Presbyterian Church, Montgomery, Alabama, 1821-1929. Montgomery, 1929.

Flanders, Ralph E. Plantation Slavery in Georgia. Chapel Hill, 1933.

Flournoy, Francis R. Benjamin Horsby Smith, 1811-1893. Richmond, 1927.

Foreman, Grant. The Five Civilized Tribes. Norman, 1934.

Gilbert, James J. A History of the First Presbyterian Church of Columbus, Georgia, during the First 100 Years of Its Existence. Columbus, Ga., 1930.


History of Central Presbyterian Church. Atlanta, Georgia. 1825, ed.


Lathan, Robert. History of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South, to which is prefixed a History of the Associate Presbyterian and Reformed Presbyterian Churches. Harrisburg, Pa., 1852.


McLeod, William A. Story of the First Southern Presbyterian Church. Austin, 1937.

Memorial of the Centennial Anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church, Augusta, Georgia. Philadelphia, 1906.


Posey, Walter E. The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest, 1775-1833. Richmond, 1922.


Silver, James W. *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda*. Tuscaloosa, 1957.

Stacy, James. *A History of the Presbyterian Church in Georgia*. Elberton, Ga., 1918.

Stanton, Robert L. *The Church and the Rebellion: a consideration of the rebellion against the Government of the United States; and the agency of the Church, North and South, in relation thereto*. New York, 1864.


Tankersley, Allen P. *College Life at Old Oglethorpe*. Athens, 1951.

Tatum, Georgia L. *Disloyalty in the Confederacy*. Chapel Hill, 1934.

Thompson, Ernest T. *Presbyterian Missions in the Southern United States*. Richmond, 1931.


Wells, John H. *Southern Presbyterian Worthies.* Richmond, 1935.


Wilson, Howard S. *The Tidewater Spring: Headwater of Freedom.* Richmond, 1931.


Articles


DesChamps, Margaret B. "Union or Division? South Atlantic Presbyterians and Southern Nationalism, 1820-1861," *Journal of Southern History*, 11(1954), 484-498.


Johnson, Thomas C. "A Brief Sketch of the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, VIII(1897), 3-38.


Wright, Muriel H. "Wapanucka Academy, Chickasaw Nation," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XII(1934), 120-132.
"A News Letter from the Presbyterian Historical Society"

Vol. 18  SEPTEMBER 1961  No. 3

FOUNDERS’ DAY  OCTOBER 13

The Fifth Annual Founders’ Day Program of the Presbyterian Historical Society will be celebrated on Friday, October 13th, in the Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Penna.

You will want to mark this date on your calendar and attend the program, if at all possible. Dr. John W. Christie, pastor emeritus of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, Delaware, and formerly president of the Presbyterian Historical Society, will deliver an address on, "George Bourne, Abolitionist."

At the program, the Distinguished Service Award, presented annually to an individual who has rendered "noteworthy service to Presbyterian history," will be awarded by the President, Rev. Dr. Maurice Armstrong. Following the program, tea will be served by the Women’s Committee.

"K" IS TO BE KEPT

"I know of no place in which to deposit such a relic so proper as the Presbyterian Historical Society." So wrote Rev. R. K. Rodgers over 100 years ago as he was forwarding to the Society the
original sermon William Mackey Tennent delivered before the General Assembly in 1798.

At the top of Tennent's sermon was the letter "K." According to a postscript on Rodgers' letter, this meant that the sermon was to be "Kept." Although 163 years have passed since Tennent placed the "K" on the top of the letter, the sermon was kept and remains today in excellent condition in the Society's archives.

May we keep the records of your church for the next 163 years?

LIGHTNING AND YOU

Soon after lightning struck the office of a stated clerk of one of the presbyteries in the East and destroyed most of the records, the Society wrote each presbytery office and reminded them to place their old records in the large, fireproof vaults of the Society.

The response to this appeal has been extremely gratifying, and many stated clerks have taken advantage of the Society's facilities.

Lightning, however, is by no means confined to striking clerks' offices only. We trust all church officers will make certain their church's valuable records are preserved in fireproof surroundings. If fireproof facilities are not available in your church, you are urged to deposit the records in the Society where they will be cataloged, filed, and preserved.

There is, of course, no charge for material deposited, and records may be withdrawn at any time upon written request by the Session. In
addition, the staff of the Library will cooperate from time to time in answering inquiries or making minor look-ups from the material deposited.

The Society welcomes the opportunity to preserve any of the Church's written past.

WE LIKE TO FEEL . . .

that each issue of the JOURNAL of the Presbyterian Historical Society is a new and pleasant reading experience. The September number includes the especially interesting accounts of George Washington and the Presbyterians, Indiana Missions in the 1830's, and Josiah Strong and the Social Gospel.

Looking ahead to December is an equally outstanding assortment of articles. Such features as the Scottish Presbyterian Foreign Missions - A Century Before Carey, Jonathan Edwards and Missions, and Jonathan Edwards and the Historians should be of special appeal to those interested in the history of the Presbyterian heritage.

G.A. MINUTES TO BE MICROFILMED

Since 1789 the General Assembly has meticulously kept the activities of its proceedings and recorded them dutifully in the General Assembly Minutes.

Because of continued, increased requests for information located in the Minutes, the need for the conservation of space in the many volumes published, as well as a more universal distribution of its reports and proceedings, the Department of History is undertaking a project of microfilming
the Minutes. This project, to be carried out during the next three years, should be a welcomed addition to all those interested in the past reports and statistical information of the Church.

In addition, microfilming the Minutes should provide churches with a service that is needed since modern, technological advances in the film industry enables paper copies to be produced from any part of the films.

We'll keep you informed on the progress of this project.

HELP US . . .

to continue to make the Society grow. We are constantly looking for new and interested members, and solicit your support in sending us the names of any people we might contact for membership.

THE SOCIETY'S PROGRESS . . .

is aided immeasurably by the gifts and contributions of its members and interested parties.

To those of you who believe that the preservation of the past is necessary for an insight into the future, and believe that a strong, vigorous Historical Society offers significant and enduring contributions to the Church, and desire to leave a bequest to the Society in your will, we ask that you consult your attorney or write:

The Presbyterian Historical Society

520 Witherspoon Building

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
109th Annual Report
PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

36th Annual Report
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
OF THE
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

1961
OFFICERS OF THE DEPARTMENT AND SOCIETY FOR 1961

Rev. Maurice W. Armstrong, Ph. D., President
Rev. Theophilus M. Taylor, Ph. D., Vice President
Mr. William O. Master, Treasurer
Mr. William B. Miller, Manager and Assistant Secretary
Rev. Eugene C. Blake, Stated Clerk, ex officio

DIRECTORS

Class of 1962
Rev. Raymon M. Kistler
Mr. Harry G. Kuch
Rev. Lefferts A. Loetscher, Ph.D.
Mr. Harold C. Stott
Rev. Theophilus M. Taylor, Ph.D.

Class of 1963
Henry Barraclough
Rev. Thomas S. Goslin, II, Ph.D.
Mr. John S. McQuade, Jr.
Mr. Lewis Stevens
Rev. G. Hall Todd

Class of 1964
Rev. Maurice W. Armstrong, Ph.D.
Rev. James L. Kelso, Th.D.
Rev. Thomas A. Schafer, Ph.D.
Rev. Alvin Duane Smith, S.T.D.
Mr. Carroll Streeter
109th Annual Report

PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

William B. Miller

For more than a century, the Board of Directors of the Department of History (Presbyterian Historical Society) has collected, preserved, and cataloged manuscripts, diaries, periodicals, and books for the benefit and use of Presbyterians. Charged with the responsibility of taking care of the archives of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, the Department has, through the years collected what is today estimated at more than 90,000 printed volumes and 400,000 manuscripts of historical significance.

As important as the numerous collections of the Society are, they should be considered merely as a solid foundation on which the Department should build for the future. Churches, presbyteries, and synods should take advantage of the services the Department provides in keeping their important records from loss, fire, or neglect in the fireproof vaults of the Department. This is a service for which there is no charge. In addition, it should be kept in mind that churches turning over their valuable papers, records, or minutes to the Society, can at any time request the return of their records by a written statement from the Session. As the official depository and custodian of the written records of the Church, the Presbyterian Historical Society is vitally interested in preserving all material and data pertaining to the Church.

The Library of the Department of History with its vast resources of books and manuscripts, is open to the public each week day (except holidays) from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Its staff is anxious to cooperate with historical groups, committees of synods, presbyteries, and churches, as well as with pastors and church sessions who are interested in investigating historical problems or in pursuing historical research. Inquiries are invited. Please address: The Department of History, Office of the General Assembly, 520 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

The following topics present areas of activity in the Department of History during 1960 which should be of significance to those interested in the history of the Church.

Publications

A significant contribution in the field of Presbyterian history was rendered several years ago when the Editorial and Publication Committee of the Society selected four basic books to be published. These works, part of a contemplated twenty-five book series covering the history of
the Presbyterian Church, were as follows:

*Providing a Presbyterian Ministry*, by Elwyn A. Smith

*Presbyterians and Social Responsibility After 1870*, by Lefferts A. Loescher

*Presbyterians and Evangelism*, by James W. Smylie

*Presbyterian Church Related Colleges*, by Charles A. Anderson

A fifth subject, *Foreign Missions in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. from 1810 to 1957*, was recently approved for future publication.

It is anticipated that the first of the series, "*Providing a Presbyterian Ministry*," will be published in 1961. The other authors have reported progress on their research during the past year.

Of added interest and special significance from the Editorial and Publication Committee during the past year is the acceptance for publication of the Charles Beatty Journals, edited by Guy S. Klett, the Research Historian of the Society. It is of interest to point out that two of three journals, edited by Mr. Klett, are in the possession of the Society. The Board of Directors is pleased that it may take this means of getting this significant work before the public in published form.

**Cataloging**

For five months during the past year the Library was fortunate in obtaining the services of an additional experienced and qualified librarian who cataloged a total of almost 5,600 manuscript documents. These manuscripts included 3,850 from the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia and approximately 1,100 from the John D. Shae Collection. Both collections contained many significant manuscripts of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

During the year the Library undertook a project of reading and checking the shelves containing the numerous books and collections. This project, carried out through the cooperation of the staff, involved the inspection of the call number of each book in the Library. As a result, misplaced books were located, damaged books were noted, and the overall physical appearance of the Library improved.

In the process of this reading, all books published in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries were removed from stack shelves and reassigned protected locations in the Council Room. Such a location change enabled works of exceptional value to be placed under glass enclosed protection, as well as the assembling of very rare works in one location.

The vaults of the Society, located both in the main library and in the basement, were likewise read and rearranged. In addition, the many filing cabinets housing the manuscripts of the Library were shifted and rearranged in alphabetical order.

During the past few months, a new microfilm cabinet was placed in the Library to house the growing collection of microfilms. Some of the microfilms obtained during the past year include: Presbyterian Home
Missionary, 1872-1886; Donegal Presbytery Minutes, 1732-1750; Foreign Missions Correspondence; Schenectady, New York, First Presbyterian Church Register, 1796-1959.

The following are some interesting statistics concerning the cataloging activities in 1960. During the course of the year a total of 2,145 items were accessioned and processed. These accessioned items included 1,306 books and pamphlets as well as 708 manuscripts. The balance of accessioned items covered such materials as microfilms, photostats, museum items, phonograph records, pictures, etc. Of the 5,323 total unaccessioned items which went through the catalogers’ hands, 3,965 pertained to serials, 1,198 to church pamphlets, and 160 were photographs.

It is in the card catalog where the activity of the catalogers is especially noted during the past year. During this period, 10,389 cards were made and filed into the catalog or special indexes. In addition, 1,757 cards were prepared for the shelf list that the Library is compiling. The balance of the total cards was prepared for the Philadelphia Union Catalog and the Union List of Serials, Library of Congress.

Cooperation with Outside Agencies

All libraries are solicited with requests during the year for their cooperation in surveys and projects undertaken by outside agencies. The Library of the Society is no exception to this pattern, and has always been cooperative with such groups. It is the philosophy of the Society that these mediums of exchange enable others to learn more about the valuable resources the Library of the Society possesses.

During the past year the Department of History submitted reports to the following outside agencies:

1. National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections
   This National Union Catalog comprised the listing of many of the Society’s outstanding manuscript collections.

2. Union List of Serials, Third Edition
   The above Union List covered changes as well as new editions of the Society’s relatively rare collection of periodicals. In the course of this project, 662 cards of the Library’s periodical titles were recataloged.

3. Survey of Historical Societies and Agencies
   This survey, conducted on a national basis by the American Association for State and Local History, was a basic study of historical agencies and the services they perform. It will be published in 1961.

4. Baptist Bibliography
   The American Baptist Historical Society has, during the past few years, undertaken a significant project of locating, cataloging and publishing a list of all works pertaining to the Baptist Church. The study,
now in its seventh volume, covered only titles beginning with the letters D and E. It is of interest to note that the Department of History possessed approximately fifty works pertaining to the Baptist Church in this particular category.

5. Census of American Almanacs

This study covered a national checklist and census of American Almanacs.

It is believed that cooperation with such projects as the above will advertise the valuable collection the Library possesses, aid in the assimilation of such material, and give well deserved publicity to the Department and Society as a whole.

The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society

Under the able direction of Acting Editor, Guy S. Klett, the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society made good headway during the year 1960. Commencing with the March issue, a change in the design of the cover was inaugurated, and color was introduced for the first time. In addition to the large number of unsolicited articles received for consideration for publication, a list of selected outstanding authors in their respective fields was compiled. From time to time it is anticipated that authors on this list will be requested to submit manuscripts for consideration for publication.

As one browses through the four quarterly issues of the Journal during the calendar year 1960, he would note such articles of interest as: “The Theater in Presbyterian Tradition”; “The Reception of Darwinism in Princeton”; “Higher Criticism Comes to America”; “John Knox, the Thundering Scot”; and “James Madison and Religion.”

During the past year, work was inaugurated on an Index of Authors and Titles of the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society. It is anticipated that this Index, containing a complete list and cross reference of all authors and titles appearing in the Journal from 1901 through 1960, will be published in the near future. The last general index of authors and titles was published in 1946.

Portraits

Through funds appropriated by the Board of Directors, thirty-seven of the Society’s original portraits have been cleaned, relined or refurbished during the past year.

Correspondence with the Frick Reference Library of New York has indicated that it is interested in taking photographs of each portrait in the Society, which will then be recorded and cataloged in the Frick Collection of Records. Such a project should not only provide favorable publicity to the Society, but should also provide excellent data in determining the actual value of the portrait collection. It is of interest to note that the Society possesses portraits painted by some of the well
known artists of their day, including Neagle, Rembrandt Peale, L. Raditz, and John Funck. An annual budget appropriation has been set aside in the Society's budget to enable this restoration project to be completed in the years ahead.

In line with this subject, the Society has attempted to locate and centralize all available history and information on each portrait and its artist as well as to register each portrait and frame. It is anticipated that the data that has been compiled will be significant in revealing the past history of the portraits.

Founders' Day

Four years ago the Presbyterian Historical Society inaugurated the annual Founders' Day Program, a day set aside for the express purpose of honoring the rich heritage of the Presbyterian Church. Prominent and outstanding historians, such as Doctors Leonard Labaree, Thomas Wertenbaker, and Geddes MacGregor have in years past, presented fitting Founders' Day addresses, which were later published and made available to all members of the Society in the Journal. In addition to the outstanding addresses, the Board of Directors of the Society has also chosen this occasion to honor those who have rendered significant contributions to the history of the Church. Past recipients of the Distinguished Service Award have been Doctors Maurice W. Armstrong, Alexander Mackie, and Charles A. Anderson.

The Rev. Clifford M. Drury, Professor of Church History at San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California, was the featured speaker of the 1960 Founders' Day Program. Dr. Drury spoke on the topic, "The First White Women Over the Rockies," a subject in which he has devoted considerable study and research. In addition, Dr. Drury was presented with the fourth annual Distinguished Service Award of the Society. His citation, presented by the Stated Clerk, the Rev. Eugene C. Blake, called attention to his outstanding contributions in the general development of the history of the United Presbyterian Church through his many years of collecting original source material, numerous writings and teaching successive generations of theological students.

Witherspoon Building Cornerstone

It is interesting to note that in the contemplated renovation of the exterior of the Witherspoon Building, no plans of the original building could be located. In checking through material in the Library, however, it was discovered that the Department of History possessed a list of items placed in the cornerstone of the building when it was constructed in 1896. Included on the list were the original plans. The Society's files also contained pictures of the Witherspoon Building under construction, which pointed out the hard-to-locate position of the cornerstone.
The numerous items originally in the cornerstone in 1896 were temporarily placed in the possession of the Society. An exhibit of these items was prepared in the Society's showcases for all interested parties to observe.

Physical Plant

During the past year the Department of History has been fortunate in acquiring items of much-needed new office furniture, including library reference desks, secretaries' desks, microfilm and file cabinets, etc. A yearly furniture appropriation has also been included in the budget to enable the Society to purchase necessary items in the future.

Board Changes

In 1960 three of the most faithful members of the Society, the Rev. Charles A. Anderson, the Rev. John W. Christie, and the Rev. Gains J. Slosser, retired from the Board of Directors of the Presbyterian Historical Society. Dr. Anderson, as Secretary, and Dr. Christie, had both served on the Board since 1945, and Dr. Slosser had been a member for 29 years. The interest and knowledge of history of these three men has been invaluable to the work of the Society, and it is only fitting that they should receive well deserved appreciation for their services rendered.

During the 172nd General Assembly, the Rev. Thomas S. Goslin II, the Rev. G. Hall Todd, Mr. Carroll Streeter and Mr. Lewis Stevens were elected to the Board of Directors.

Records of Judicatories

The following records of judicatories have been received and cataloged:

Big Spring, Pa. Presbytery. Women's Presbyterial
   Minutes, 1884-1959. 3 vols.

Cairo, Ill. Presbytery
   Minutes, 1940-1950

Council on Theological Education
   Minutes, 1959

Dayton, Ohio. Presbytery
   Minutes, 1839-1958. 15 vols.

Denton, Texas. Presbytery
   Minutes, 1907-1911

Ewing, Ill. Presbytery
   Minutes, 1907-1941. 2 vols.
   Roll of ministers and churches, 1838-1939

Fairfield, Iowa. Presbytery
   Minutes, 1860-1870

Guthrie, Texas. Presbytery (Cumberland Presbyterian Church)
   Minutes, 1864-1907
   Treasurer's book, 1891-1894
Iowa Presbytery
Minutes, 1840-1928. 10 vols.

Jersey City, N. J. Presbytery
Minutes and other records, 1874-1875

Kendall, Idaho. Presbytery
Treasurer's book, 1906-1952

Keokuk, Iowa. Presbytery
Minutes, 1852-1870

McAdow Synod (Cumberland Presbyterian Church)
Minutes, 1845-1878

New Lebanon, Mo. Presbytery (Cumberland Presbyterian Church)
Minutes, 1859-1906. 2 vols.
Records, 1832-1868

Newton, N. J. Presbytery
Minutes, 1944-1956

North Iowa Synod
Treasurer's book, 1880-1903

Parsons, Texas. Presbytery (Cumberland Presbyterian Church)
Minutes, 1877-1907. 4 vols.

Minutes of National Missions Subcommittee, Dec. 1911-March, 1921

Philadelphia, Pa. Presbytery
Minutes, 1948-1954
Benevolence Division report, May, 1958
Report of Committee on Organizations and Institutions, May 13, 1958

Insurance survey, 1939-40

Philadelphia, Pa. Presbytery (United Presbyterian Church of North America) Women's Presbyterial Missionary Society
Minutes, 1907-1958. 5 vols.

Pittsburgh, Pa. Presbytery
Letters from the Historical Commission describing the union, May 8, 1940

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Board of Christian Education
Correspondence, 1956
Record of the curriculum conference . . . re Christian Faith and Life, 1942

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Board of Foreign Missions
American Indian correspondence, Kansas, 1853 (microfilm)
Correspondence relating to Africa, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, India, Iran, Japan and Venezuela, 1898-1911 (microfilm)

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Board of Publication
Copyrights. Books which have been entered, 1835-1913
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Cooperative Committee on Missionary Education
Minutes, 1940-1957. 3 vols.

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. General Assembly
Papers re ... the Independent Board of Foreign Missions

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. General Assembly Trustees
Legal Papers, 1925-1941

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Publication Committee
Presbyterian House cash account, 1854-1875

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Three Board Committee on the Future of Missionary Education
History and Minutes, 1939-1940

Providence, R. I. Presbytery

Red Oak, Texas. Presbytery (Cumberland Presbyterian Church)
Minutes, 1869-1898. 3 vols.

Texas Synod
Minutes, 1939-1943, 1948-1952

Twin Falls, Idaho. Presbytery
Minutes, 1908-1916
Roll Books, 1908-1913 and Minutes, 1912-1913

Waterloo, Iowa. Presbytery
Minutes, 1870-1899. 2 vols.

Records of Churches

The following church records were received during the year for permanent preservation:

Avoca, Iowa. Knox Presbyterian Church
Minutes of session, 1873-1885

Batavia, Iowa. Locust Grove Presbyterian Church
Session minutes, 1856-1884

Bentonport, Iowa Presbyterian Church
Session minutes, 1856-1884

Bloomfield, Iowa. Presbyterian Church
Congregational minutes, 1919-1934

Bloomfield, Iowa. Shunem Presbyterian Church
Minutes of session, 1879-1905

Bowling Green, Ky. Presbyterian Church
The Women’s Association, 1959

Chester, Pa. Bethany Presbyterian Church
Church Register, 1916-1956. 2 vols.

Fairfield, Iowa. Cedar Presbyterian Church
Congregational minutes, 1902-1916
Filer, Idaho. Maroa Presbyterian Church
   Minutes of session, 1913-1918
   Church register, 1913-1926
Flanders, N. J. Mt. Olive Presbyterian Church
   Brief history, 1959
Germantown (Phila.) Pa. Church of the Savior
   Minutes of session, 1954-Feb. 1960
Germantown (Phila.) Pa. Marker Square Presbyterian Church
   Session minutes, 1775-1829
Gooding, Idaho. First Presbyterian Church
   Minutes of Session and church register, 1907-1931
   Certificates of dismissal and reception, 1917-1938
Hagerman, Idaho. Malad Canyon Presbyterian Church
   Minutes of session and church register, 1918-1925
Havertown, Pa. Llanerch Presbyterian Church
   Session minutes, 1927-1950. 2 vols.
   Women's Missionary Society treasurer's book, 1934-1948
Jerome, Idaho. Arcadia Presbyterian Church
   Minutes of session and church register, 1912-1925
Jerome, Idaho Auger Falls Presbyterian Church
   Church register, 1910-1920
   Minutes of the annual congregational meeting, 1912-1917
Jersey City, N. J. John Knox Presbyterian Church
   Minutes of session, 1891-1895
Jersey City, N. J. Scotch Presbyterian Church
   Minutes of the Board of Managers, 1890-1898
Kirksville, Iowa. Presbyterian Church
   Church register, 1905-1922
Kossuth, Iowa. First Presbyterian Church
   Minutes and other records, 1870-1932
   Minutes of the Ladies Missionary Society, 1871-1939
Kossuth, Iowa. Free Presbyterian Church
   Minutes of session, 1854-1865
Kossuth, Iowa. Round Prairie Presbyterian Church
   Minutes, 1839-1869
Kossuth, Iowa. Yellow Springs Presbyterian Church
   Minutes of session and church register, 1840-1870. 3 vols.
Larry, Iowa. Kingston Presbyterian Church
   Minutes of session, 1899-1913
Libertyville, Iowa. Presbyterian Church
   Minutes, 1850-1941
Martinsburg, Iowa. Presbyterian Church
Minutes and church register, 1859-1943

Mendham, N. J. First Presbyterian Church
Session minutes, 1766-1951
Minutes and records of the Ladies Auxiliary and other church groups, 1852-1958

Mendham, N. J. Second Presbyterian Church
Minutes of session and church records, 1859-1898

Milnor, Idaho. Presbyterian Church
Church register, 1910-1913

Milton, Iowa. Lebanon Presbyterian Church
Minutes and Sunday School records, 1871-1941

Nebraska City, Neb. Presbyterian Church
Incorporation of churches

Orchard Valley, Idaho. Presbyterian Church
Minutes of session and church register, 1912-1915

Panama, Neb. Presbyterian Church
Articles of incorporation, 1958

Paterson, N. J. Broadway Presbyterian Church
Minutes of session, 1891-1895

Pawnee City, Neb. First Presbyterian Church
Annual congregational meetings, 1879-1900, 1915-1945. 3 vols.
Certificates of dismissal and reception, 1904-1949. 4 vols.
Church letters and decision cards, 1953-1959
Church register, 1887-1954
Deed and legal papers
Minutes of session and church register, 1866-1897, 1910-1954. 4 vols.
Records of baptisms, weddings, funerals, 1946-1952
Restoration Fund Commission records, 1946-1948
Treasurer's book of the Women's Missionary Society, 1926-1956

Pawnee City, Neb. United Presbyterian Church
Minutes of session, 1867-1959

Philadelphia, Pa. Calvary Presbyterian Church
Building Fund pledge book, 1850-1851, 1857

Philadelphia, Pa. First African Presbyterian Church
Communication with the Second Presbyterian Church, 1813

Philadelphia, Pa. First Presbyterian Church
Miscellaneous manuscript records, 1806-1949

Philadelphia, Pa. Manayunk First Presbyterian Church
Charter, 1883
Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1848-1910. 2 vols.
Philadelphia, Pa. Mt. Calvary Presbyterian Church
   Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1907-1922
   Session minutes, 1925-1947. 2 vols.

Philadelphia, Pa. Northern Liberties Presbyterian Church
   Attendance book of the Sunday School, 1892-1894

Philadelphia, Pa. Second Presbyterian Church
   Miscellaneous manuscript records, 1790-1915

Philadelphia, Pa. Seventh Presbyterian Church
   Investment book, 1849-1877

Philadelphia, Pa. Southwestern Presbyterian Church
   Financial records, 1885-1893

Philadelphia, Pa. Tabor Presbyterian Church
   Certificates of dismission and reception, 1930-1942
   Treasurer's books, 1936-1942
   Voucher stubs, 1935-1942

Philadelphia, Pa. Third Presbyterian Church
   History of ecclesiastical proceedings, 1814

Philadelphia, Pa. Tioga Presbyterian Church
   Minutes of session, 1918-1935

Pleasant Plain, Iowa. Presbyterian Church
   Minutes, 1872-1888

Shelbyville, Ky. Presbyterian Church
   Papers, 1828-1830

Springfield, Ohio. Durbin Presbyterian Church
   Annual reports, 1952-1955
   Lafuerza case
   Sunday School and church reports, 1936-1937, 1941-1948
   Treasurer's book, 1916-1939

Sussex, N. J. Wantage First Church
   Church records, 1838-1927

Troy, Iowa. Presbyterian Church
   Minutes, 1846-1928

Twin Falls, Idaho. Pleasant View Presbyterian Church
   Minutes of session and church register, 1914-1931

Union City, N. J. First Presbyterian Church
   Minutes, 1918-1945
   Register of members, 1851-1944. 3 vols.

West Hoboken, N. J. First Presbyterian Church
   Minutes, 1850-1928. 8 vols.

West Point Iowa. Memorial Presbyterian Church
   Minutes, 1900-1937
Winchester, Iowa, Presbyterian Church
Minutes, 1851-1857
Woonsocket, R.I. First Presbyterian Church
Church register, 1936-1956
Corporation records, 1948-1957

Donors

The following persons graciously presented gifts of pictures, museum
items, books, or manuscripts to the Society during 1960:

Bowling Green, Ky. Presby.
Church
Buzby, Mrs. Austin
Chambers Presby. Church,
Rutledge, Pa.
Downs, Mrs. Francis Shunk
Duffield, Miss L. C.
Edgar, Rev. George B.
Eiker, Harry W.
Elder, Dr. Earl E.
Fackenthal Library, F. & M.
College
Feagles, Mrs. C. T.
Finney, Rev. John C.
Hodgkinson, Bruce T.
Jones, Rev. Kenneth
Kerr, Dr. James
Marquis, S.
Moorhatch, Mrs. Kharoon
Muskingum College, New
Concord, Ohio
Newkirk, Miss Mary
Pearson, Raymond
Plumb, Rev. Cecil
Presby, Rev. G. Elliott
Presbyterian Mission Library
Robinson, Rev. J. G.
Whittles, Leonard C.

Recommendations

1. That a closer historical relationship exist between the Society and
syndes, presbyteries and churches through the following means:
   a. Collecting of all available minutes, important historical papers and
      books, and depositing them in the vaults of the Presbyterian Historical
      Society.
   b. Keeping informed of the activities of the Department and Society
      by a membership in the Presbyterian Historical Society.

2. That churches, seminaries, and other United Presbyterian insti-
tutions possessing historical materials relating to the Presbyterian order
cooperate with the Library so that the latter may serve as a union catalog
center of all Presbyterian-related material.

3. That in view of the agreement of 1925, revised in 1930, and
amplified in 1952, the Board of Directors of the Presbyterian Historical
Society has elected the following persons to membership in the class
indicated, and asks for the approval of these elections by the General
Assembly.

To serve in the Class of 1964
Rev. Maurice W. Armstrong, Ph.D.
Rev. James L. Kelso, Th.D.
Rev. Thomas A. Schafer, Ph.D.
Rev. Alvin Duane Smith, S.T.D.
Mr. Carroll Streeter

Officers of the Department and Society for 1961
Rev. Maurice W. Armstrong, Ph.D., President
Rev. Theo. M. Taylor, Ph.D., Vice-President
Mr. William O. Master, Treasurer
Mr. William B. Miller, Manager and Assistant Secretary
Rev. Eugene C. Blake, Stated Clerk, ex officio

Members

Abercrombie, Albert
Abington, Pa., Presbyterian Church
Ackerman, Rev. William S.
Addison, Rev. Harry T.
Alden, Mr. and Mrs. Charles H.
Altmann, Mr. Fred
Allen, Rev. Carlton C.
Allen, Rev. George H., Jr.
Allen, Hennissa H.
Allen, Joseph S.
Allentown, Pa., First Presbyterian Church
Allin, Rev. Ronald T.
Allison, Dr. A. R.
Allison, Rev. Milton M.
Allison, Ralph E.
Alma, Michigan, College Library
Alman, Rev. Clifford R.
Amstel, Rev. D. W.
Anderson, Dr. Baas
Anderson, Indiana.
First Presbyterian Church
Anderson, Rev. Harrison R.
Anderson, Mrs. John P.
Andrews, Rev. Mark L.
Apperson, Mr. George M., Jr.
Arch Street Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
Ardmore, Pa., First Presbyterian Church
Arlington, Va.
First Presbyterian Church
Aronowitz, Mr. Maurice W.
Asmuth, Rev. Robert C.
Atlantic City, N. J.
First Presbyterian Church
Badillo, Rev. E. H. Fernandez
Baird, Rev. John S.
Baker, Rev. C. V.
Baker, Rev. Robert W.
Ball, Robert W.
Ballard, Rev. Kenneth
Barnea, Mrs. George Emeron
Barnhart, Miss Marion
Barrett, Dr. Henry
Barry, Vermont.
First Presbyterian Church
Barry, J. M.
Basking Ridge, N. J., Presbyterian Church
Bates, Mrs. Robert P.
Bauer, Miss Freda H.
Bauer, Rev. Richard W.
Bean, Donald
Benett, Rev. Frank A., Jr.
Beaver College Library, Jenkintown, Pa.
Bennett, Rev. Joseph R.
Becker, Rev. Joseph R.
Bell, Dr. J. Milton
Bell, Jesse S.
Bell Memorial Presbyterian Church, Elwood City, N. J.
Belmore, N. Y., Presbyterian Church
Belting, Dr. Natalie
Berkahl, Rev. Marshall D.
Bethany Presbyterian Church, Trenton, N. J.
Bethlehem Presbyterian Church, Clinton, New Jersey
Bowen, Rev. Karl W., Sr.
Bowman, Rev. Robert L.
Bowser, W. W.
Brenner, Rev. Scott Francisco
Burroughs Presbyterian Church, New York, N. Y.
Buchanan, Rev. John G., Jr.
Bucknell University Library, Lewisburg, Pa.
Burkholder, Mrs. Lewis Sayre
Bush, Rev. Boyd S.
Burr, Rev. G. W.
Burroughs, Rev. William
Buchman, Rev. Leonard
Bush, Rev. Glenwood
Caldron, John V.
Caldy Presbyterian Church, Canton, Ohio
Calvary Presbyterian Church, Churchville, Pa.
Calvary Memorial Church, Churchville, Pa.
Calvary Presbyterian Church, Churchville, Pa.
Calvary Presbyterian Church, Churchville, Pa.
Calvary Presbyterian Church, Churchville, Pa.
Calvary Presbyterian Church, Churchville, Pa.
Carnegie, Rev. David M.
Carnes, Rev. H. Carlyle
Carmen, Rev. R. Kenneth
Carr, Edgar B.
Carson, Rev. Vincent
Carsonville Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, Md.
Cedar Park Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
Central Presbyterian Church, Huntington, New York
Central Presbyterian Church, Lafayette, Indiana
Champlin, Ill.
First Presbyterian Church
Chenuitt, Rev. James E.
Chester, Pa., First Presbyterian Church
Cheyney Hill Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
Chepuk, Dr. Orly
Christ's Presbyterian Church, Carnell, New York
Christ's West Hope Presbyterian Church, Overbrook Hills, Pa.
Christ, Rev. John W.
Church of the Covenant, Cleveland, Ohio
Church of the Covenant, Washington, D. C.
City Temple Presbyterian Church, Dallas, Texas
Clark, Malcolm H., Jr.
Clarke, Maurice E.
Clayton, Rev. Leonard A.
Clements, Rev. R. S.
Cline, C. D., Jr.
Clippinger, G. H.
Close, Arthur
McMullen, Robert B.
McNabb, Rev. Robert M.
McQuade, John S., Jr.
McGlynn, Miss Anna P.
McWilliams, J. Wesley
Narbeth, Pa., Presby. Church
Neece, Miss Frances F.
Neff, Rev. Robert
Nelson, Rev. Robert L., Jr.
Nemaha-Waverly Presby. Ch.,
Hartville, Pa.
Netter, Rev. John J.
New Hartford, New York,
First Presby. Church
New Haven, Conn.
New Providence, N.J.
Presby. Church
New Rochelle, New York,
First Presby. Ch.
New York, New York,
First Presby. Church
Newburyport, Mass.,
First Presby. Ch.
Newington Square, Pa., Presby. Ch.
NGUPE Falls, New York,
First Presby. Church
Nichols, Dr. Roy F.
NotAllowed, Rev. Alfred
Norman, Okla., First Presby. Ch.
Norristown, Pa., First Presby. Ch.
Norristown Presbyterian Ch.,
Norristown, Pa.
Norristown Providence Presby.
Church, S.S., Norristown, Pa.
North Carolina Synod of
North Presby. Ch., Fishing,
N. Y.
Northern, C. S., Jr.
Norwalk, Presby. Church,
Evaston, Illinois
Oakland, Calif., First Presby. Ch.
Ober, Mrs. George N.
Oceana, W. Va., First Presby. Ch.
Ogga, Miss Emma J.
Oil City, Pa., First Presby. Church,
Cleveland, Ohio
Old Tennent Ch., Tennent, N. J.
Oldman, Rev. John, Jr.
Olmstead, Dr. Clifford B.
Olton, Miss Patsy, Presby. Church,
Philipsburg, Pa.
O'Neill, Rev. William R.
Oswego Valley Presby. Church
Syracuse, New York
Opportunity, Wash., Presby. Ch.
Oswego, Rev. Ronald E.
Overbrook Presby. Church,
Pa.
Overly, L. R.
Palmer, Frank
Palmer, Rev. Stephen E.
Pandolph, Rev. Albert
Parker, Rev. Harold M., Jr.
Parker, Miss Sarah W.
Pasadena, Calif., Presby. Church
Patrick, Dr. Johnstone G.
Patterson, Miss Helen G.
Patterson, J. Heman
Pattison, Rev. Charles L.
Paul, Rev. Lewis E.
Paulson, Rev. L. O.
Pease, Miss Mabel
Pedwell, Dr. Harry W.
Pentfield, Rev. Thornton B., Jr.
Pensacola Presby. Church
Mrs. Penn, Reading, Pa.
Peppers, Rev. Donald R.
Peters, Dr. John T.
Peterson, Charles E., Jr.
Placid, Rev. William M.
Philadelphia, Pa., First Presby. Church
Picke!, C. M., Jr.
Pickell, Rev. Charles N.
Pilgrim Presby. Ch., Trenton, N. J.
Plausch, Rev. Raymond
Plankney, Lorence Linn
Pine Street Presby. Church,
Harrisburg, Pa.
Pioneer Memorial Church,
SOLON, Ohio
Pittsburgh, Kan., First Presby. Ch.
Placentia, Calif., Presby. Church
Pleasant Ridge Presby. Church,
Cincinnati, Ohio
Pollock, Dr. James A.
Pollock, Lloyd E.
Pomona, Calif., First Presby. Church
Poule, William
Portsmouth, Ohio,
First Presby. Church
Pratt, Kansas, First Presby. Ch.
Prichard, Rev. Jack H.
Prince, New Jersey,
First Presby. Ch., Library,
Prospect Street Presby. Church,
Trenton, New Jersey
Prust, L. J.
Quar, Rev. Chester A.
Quigley, Rev. William S.
Quayson, Herbert B.
Reed, Miss Helen F.
Reed, Rev. Ralph
Rever Lib., Westminster
College, Fulton, Missouri
Reformed Presby. Theol. Sem.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rice, Rev. Clayton F.
Rich, G. Barrett
Richards, Benjamin J.
Richardson, Rev. Robert S.
Richardson Memorial Presby. Ch.,
Richman, Earl H.
Riddle, Dr. Henry A.
Riddle, Rev. William R.
Rolley Park, Pa., Presby. Church
Riverside Presby. Church,
Huntington, Md.
Roach, Dr. Morris H.
Roberts, Rev. R. Lloyd
Robinson, Rev. Steward M.
Roblee, Dr. Melvin A.
Robshaw, Dr. Charles P.
Rockaway, N. J., First Presby. Ch.
Rodgers, Maurice F.
Rodman, Rev. Edward W.
Rogers, Dr. Harry C.
Roby, Rev. Bradley
Rocker, Rev. Robert L.
Rom, Miss Roy
Rosen, Miss Fred
Ross, Mr. Guy S.
Ross, Rev. John R.
Rowell, N. M., First Presby. Ch.
Rowland, Rev. Frederick S.
Royal Oak, Michigan,
First Presby. Church
Ruben, Rev. Leland G.
Rudolph, L. C.
Russell, Mrs. Frank
Rutgers Presbyterian Church,
New York, New York
Ryan, Rev. Joseph
Rynearson, Norman J.
Sage, C. H.
St. Andrew's Presby. Church,
Lebanon, Pa.
St. Andrew's Presby. Church,
Redondo Beach, Calif.
St. Charles Presby. Church,
St. Charles, Mo.
St. James Presby. Church,
Bellingham, Wash.
St. John's Presby. Church,
Berkeley, Calif.
St. John's Presby. Church,
Liberty, Reno, Nevada
St. Paul's Presby. Church,
Phillips, Pa.
Salinas, Oreg., First Presby. Ch.
Salt Lake City, Utah, Presby. Church
San Marino, Calif., Presby. Church
Sanderson, Rev. Robert G.
Sandfort Heights Presby. Church,
Springfield, New Jersey
Sarles, Rev. Henry
Saunders, Rev. Glenn M.
Savage, Raymond
Schaeffer, Dr. Alan M.
Schearer, Rev. Jay A.
Schofield, Rev. John
Schofield, Rev. John
Schulte, Rev. Jerome C.
Schutt, Harold G.
Schweitzer, Miss Frederick
Scott, Rev. Charles E.
Scott, Rev. Charles E.
Scott, Rev. Robert P.
Scott, Rev. Walter C.
Scott, Rev. Robert C.
Scott, Rev. Robert F.
Scott, Rev. Walter C.
Scott, Minor M.
Second Presby. Ch., Carlisle, Pa.
Second Presby. Ch., Chattanooga, Tenn.
Second Presby. Church,
Indianapolis, Ind.
Second Presby. Church,
Kansas City, Mo.
Second Presby. Ch., Old City, Pa.
Second Presby. Church, San Francisco, Calif.
Second Presby. Church, Tucson, Ariz.
Second Presby. Church, Settlers, Rev. George L.
Seymour, Ind., First Presby. Church
Shafter, Rev. John
Shaw, Rev. Alfred
Shawyer, Rev. Roland L.
Shawyer, Rev. Roland L.
Shilling, Rev. H. N.,
Shilf, Rev. William G., Jr.
Simon, Rev. William H., Jr.
Simons, Rev. William H., Jr.
Simons, Rev. William H., Jr.
Skelly, Daniel A., Jr.
Slavin, David B.
Skelton, Miss Harriet M.
Slijper, Rev. Andrew G.
Smalley, Rev. John B.,
Smith, Mrs. A. W.
Smith, Dr. Albert
Smith, Rev. Benjamin E.
Smith, Rev. John L.
Smith, Rev. Harold T.
Smith, Kenneth G.
Smith, Miss Laura
Smith, Miss May K.
Smith, Rev. Robert J.
Smith, Rev. Richard K.